



Daily Report

East Europe

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Mother Teresa Received by Nexhmije Hoxha, Malile
AU1608200489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, president of the General Council of the Albanian Democratic Front, this morning received Mother Teresa. The meeting was also attended by Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries.

Having welcomed Mother Teresa and expressed pleasure at her visit to Albania, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha expressed her appreciation for the philanthropic activity carried out by Mother Teresa, who has devoted herself for the past 60 years to the poor, disabled, sick, and abandoned. This is a great and honorable effort, she said. We respect this humane activity that you are carrying out with all your spirit, and congratulate you.

Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha informed Mother Teresa that during 45 years of the people's regime everything has been and is being done for the good of the people. She pointed out the great solicitude shown in Albania to preserve and improve the health of the people, and particularly that of women and children, as well as their education. Education and health care in Albania are free. Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha stressed that everything in Albania is done to raise the living standards of the people, who experience no unemployment and taxation. She mentioned to Mother Teresa the solicitude shown for orphaned children, who are protected by the state, the great progress made in the life of all the people, and of women in particular. In Albania, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha stressed, there are no poor, abandoned children. Social diseases of the kind that are known throughout the world do not exist in Albania, and we are proud of this.

Mother Teresa expressed to Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha her pleasure at having been able to meet her and at the great progress that has been made in Albania, the great solicitude shown for human life. She informed Comrade Nexhmije about the philanthropic work that she performs.

Comrade Nexhmije wished her good health and a long life. She then had lunch with Mother Teresa and those accompanying her.

Mother Teresa, Nobel Prize winner Gonxhe Bojaxhiu, was also received this afternoon by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, who had a warm conversation with her. After expressing his pleasure at her visit to Albania, her native country, Reis Malile expressed his high appreciation for her contribution and selfless work throughout the world to help the defenseless, disabled, and victims

of war and natural disasters. He also mentioned the Albanian Government's foreign policy in favor of peace in the region and in Europe, and the consolidation of international cooperation.

The meeting was also attended by Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries.

A documentary movie entitled Mother Teresa was shown today at the Palace of Congresses. The movie is devoted to the life and work of the well-known Albanian philanthropist, Gonxhe Bojaxhiu, Mother Teresa, in aiding the poor, abandoned, and diseased. The viewing, at which Mother Teresa was also present, was attended by members of the staff of various Tirana cultural and medical institutions, writers, artists, and other guests. The screening was also attended by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Ahmet Kamberi, minister of health; Ajet Ylli, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Science and Technology; Ismail Kadare, deputy chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front; and other guests. Heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Tirana were also present. The speech on the occasion was delivered by Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries.

Mother Teresa visited today also the Oncological Institute in Tirana. At a meeting with the director of this institution, Adelina Mazreku, she was briefed about the work done at this institution and then visited various sections. Mother Teresa said: I am very pleased to learn that people in Albania do not pay for their treatment and that everything is provided by the state. This center is very well equipped and has a sufficient number of staff members. Everything is very fine.

Kondi Speaks at Youth Congress Anniversary
AU1508130689

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian of 9 August carries on pp 1,3 a 1,500-word summary of the speech delivered by Pirro Kondi, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member, at a rally held on 8 August at Helmes, Skrapar District, to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the First Albanian Antifascist Youth Congress.

After mentioning the heroic role of the Albanian youth during the war and during the period of socialist construction, Kondi stresses the great and justified appreciation shown for the youth and its role in society by Enver Hoxha. Kondi goes on to stress the centuries-long struggles of the Albanian people for freedom and independence, struggles that were crowned with the victory of the people's revolution 45 years ago.

After mentioning the successes achieved by Skrapar District in the fulfillment of plans in various sectors, Kondi stresses the role of youth in the socialist construction of Albania and the great opportunities open to young people in present-day Albania.

PCE's Anguita on Party, European Affairs
AU1608202189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 13 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with Julio Anguita, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, by Isak Gozes, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent: "Everyone Should Be Searching Today"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Julio Anguita is a 47-year-old man, endowed with the usual virtues and shortcomings. He is an enthusiast, both in his private and political life. He always says what he thinks. He is methodical at times, and sometimes impatient; he tends to skip over several stages of development. He has three children and is a historian, specializing in modern history. This is Julio Anguita's personal description of his own character, who since the 20th Congress of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE] in 1988 has been general secretary of this party. The following are his answers to questions asked by Isak Gozes, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent, in a special interview.

[Gozes] Comrade Anguita, 7 months have elapsed since the extraordinary congress at which the PCE regained its organizational unity. How would you evaluate this period as a communist and as secretary general?

[Anguita] The period in which there was a split, which lasted over 10 years, was a psychological drama for the Spanish Communists. The party was constantly subjected to criticism and its strength was totally denied. This was correct to a certain extent. However, the truth is that the majority of communists remained within the PCE and only a minority were members of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain, headed by Ignacio Gallego, and the Workers Party- Communist Unity, headed by Santiago Carrillo. Nevertheless, all of these things were somewhat abnormal, and the rank and file members did not accept the situation. Discussions in all of the autonomous regions confirmed this fact. This is how it became necessary to hold the extraordinary congress on 14 January 1988, which closed the ranks and rallied 80 percent of the members of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain into the PCE, including several well-known public and political figures and workers leaders. Naturally, this unity was achieved as a result of the fact that both the PCE and the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain were members of the United Left. Santiago Carrillo's party was not a member of this movement, and it is perhaps for this reason that we did not achieve unity with that party at the time. Today, however, numerous members of the Carrillo party are ready to join us.

The PCE has over 83,000 members today. This is a considerable number for Spain. We are the second or third political force in our country. We are ready to accept new members, but we are categorical in stating that the congress of unity has been held and we do not intend to repeat it. [passage omitted]

[Gozes] In the elections for the European Parliament, the United Left was the only one among the European parties to submit its own program, which is actually the program of the PCE. How do you see the future of the continent through the prism of this program?

[Anguita] The program is entitled "Structure of Europe" and is based on the fact that today the development of productive forces is exceeding the national borders, which requires that all solutions should take this process into consideration, without affecting the sovereignty of individual states. We are accepting the Common Market as a step forward toward greater reunification based on political power, which requires the existence of an European Parliament with relevant characteristic features, laws, and regulations, and that should by all means be independent from the United States.

The most important thing in this European home is to disband the military blocs. We do not accept that disarmament problems should be discussed by generals. As the saying goes, war and peace are issues that are much too important to be solved by the military organizations.

Europe must become a force in which the Third World should see its protector.

[Gozes] How would you define the present state of relations between the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the PCE?

[Anguita] We have good relations with the communist parties of all socialist countries. Periods of lack of mutual understandings did exist, as a matter of fact. Nevertheless, we have always maintained very good relations with the BCP. These relations helped us to overcome internal conflicts within our party. I think that one of the reasons for our good mutual relations resulted from the fact that the BCP adopted a very correct approach to our split. We could always rely on the Bulgarian Communists' assistance. I am convinced that our friendship should never be subjected to any doubts. It is not influenced by time. [passage omitted]

Mladenov Receives YAR Charge d'Affaires
AU1608182389 Sofia BTA in English 1722 GMT 16
Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 16 (BTA)—In connection with the opening of the Embassy of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] in Sofia, Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, today received Mr 'Abdullah Muhammad al-Wahabi, charge d'affaires ad interim.

French CP Leader Marchais Departs 16 Aug
AU1608152389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1500 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Today Georges Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party, departed from the country. He had visited Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

At Sofia Airport the guest was seen off by Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev.

Pan-Turkish Propaganda Denounced
AU1608154789

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 14 August 1989 carries on pages 4 and 5, a 2,500-word article by Mikhail Yanchev, entitled: "Pan-Turkism—Imperial Passion of Turkey" dealing with Turkish propaganda related to the identification of Muslims living outside the borders of Turkey as belonging to the Turkish nation.

In an introductory passage, Mikhail Yanchev points out that "Bulgarian literature is full of examples describing the struggle against foreign domination, but it never refers to claims for foreign territories and peoples," which applies in particular, to "our neighbor countries."

The author further enumerates several contemporary Turkish publications, such as newspaper articles, books, and essays of Turkish scholars on the recent past in which pan-Turkism is expressed in many ways, by indicating the existence of "Siberian Turks, Northern Turks, Western Turks," and other Turks living in "America, Argentina, Algeria, Australia, Britain, Egypt, and Yemen as minorities." Yanchev comments as follows on this statement:

"This is how far the Turkish pan-Turkish scholars are going. They do not recognize any borders, or states, and in a quite aggressive manner, they ascribe entire states and nations to the Turkish nation. This, as a matter of fact, is the very basis of pan-Turkism."

Citing Riza Yonder [name as transliterated] writing in the Turkdili magazine, no 191, 1967, about the necessity of teaching the Turkish language to minorities abroad, Yanchev remarks:

"The foreign language imposed on part of our compatriots, namely on the Islamized Bulgarians, was not adopted by them, naturally, and for this reason, Yonder gives instructions on methods to keep up the 'flame' of pan-Turkism outside the Turkish borders, having in mind us, in Bulgaria, of course."

Yanchev further points out: "The fact that the names of the descendants of Islamized Bulgarians were restored was the most severe blow against pan-Turkism. It is no coincidence that in their writings, the propagandists keep mentioning the strength of anadola, and the strength of the "sovereign Turks." The "homecoming" to Turkey is nothing but an expression of the goals and tasks of pan-Turkism.

Yanchev cites some more recent Turkish publications on the subject, including an article published in the daily TURKIYE on 23 July 1989 containing an "appeal" to Prime Minister Ozal to establish "a ministry for Turks

abroad" and a "world federation of Turks living abroad," as well as an institute on the problems of "enslaved Turks living abroad." Yanchev adds in this connection:

"Anyone may ask, where are these Turks living? It is very well known, that the Ottoman decrees of the remote past, according to which they used to invade and destroy entire civilizations all over the world, including Bulgaria, are still valid for them."

Yanchev closes his article by stressing that "an increasing number of people are becoming aware that pan-Turkism is a crime that should be denounced by the entire civilized world." He admits that some "soberly thinking people in Turkey condemn Ozal's chauvinistic policy," and expresses the hope that "Turkey's western allies should understand, or if they do not know it yet, learn, the fact that what is happening in Turkey is in contradiction with present-day realities."

Farmers Burning Straw To Make Up For Delays
AU1608162389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 11 Aug 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Warning Tip: Ban on 'Flying Saucers Made of Straw'"]

[Text] It is well-known how the short-lived sensational story ended concerning the unidentified flying object that was recently reported to have landed near Moscow: Unprejudiced investigations produced a perfectly prosaic explanation, namely the combustion of a large amount of dry grass. We would not mention this attempt to make up for the summer shortage of interesting news with a fabricated story, if the danger had not recently arisen of similar "launching areas" also appearing in the fields of Bulgaria.

Delays are occurring in collecting the straw from harvested fields, and because in many areas this has begun to hinder the timely completion of the basic soil cultivation operations, it is no wonder that certain leaderships may be tempted "to put a match to it," without wasting any time in thinking of the existing categorical prohibition on this. It is not superfluous to remind ourselves that though prohibitions may well exist, violations of these prohibition exist as well.

The lowest percentages of straw have been collected in Sofia, Razgrad, Burgas, and Mikhaylovgrad Oblasts (between 36 and 45 percent). Marked differences can be noted in the way the different municipalities are carrying out this agricultural task. Whereas a few days ago Veliko Turnovo Municipality had completed 97 percent of this task, and Lom Municipality had collected the straw from 86 percent of the harvested fields, Mikhaylovgrad Municipality had only completed one-third of the work.

Of course, objective reasons do exist. Large amounts of straw left over from last year can be seen, and village farmers are refraining from collecting and baling the straw in order to avoid excess expenditures (which are not insignificant). However, the true farmer finds a way out, for example by distributing unlimited amounts of straw to private farmers, or baling it to keep it in reserve for the needs of stockbreeding and vegetable production.

Every solution is good in its own way, but one is absolutely unacceptable, and that is burning!

Without mentioning the danger presented by stubble burning, and without considering in detail the losses, which can very easily multiply (as such matters are clear to everyone), let us remind ourselves of the extremely unfavorable ecological consequences. Many of us, if not all, have seen the black patches caused by the fires, the soil baked hard as brick.... The earth carries such wounds for a long time, and they are not easily cured.

Thus, the "landing" of such "flying saucers" made of straw must continue to be prohibited. If the telltale signs of orange flames should nevertheless appear anywhere, our readers know whom to inform of the violation.

Sociopolitical Committees Formed in Burgas, Varna
AU1608172289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 11 Aug 89 p 6

[Text] Burgas, 10 August (oblast correspondent Tsanko Raychev)—Today representatives of 12 public organizations, movements, and professional and creative unions founded a committee of sociopolitical forces attached to the Burgas Oblast Fatherland Front Council. Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of the Varna Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], was elected to serve as chairman for a period of 6 months.

Nacho Papazov, chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, took part in the constituent meeting of the committee. He pointed out that new effective forms must be used to further improve the links with working people, steadily overcome bureaucracy and indifference towards their problems, and mount an offensive to solve the important problems that real life poses.

The committee will introduce new elements in uniting all political and social forces in the oblast. Its efforts will be directed toward the vital interests of the workers: environmental protection, demographic processes, the struggle against negative phenomena, and meeting the consumer demand for goods and food products. X X X

Varna, 10 August (oblast correspondent Nikolay Zhelev)—A committee of sociopolitical forces attached to the Varna Oblast Fatherland Front Council was formed today. This decision was unanimously reached by the leaders of sociopolitical organizations, movements, and professional and creative unions who attended the meeting. Dimitur Dimitrov, first secretary

of the Varna Oblast BCP Committee, was elected chairman of the committee. At the next meeting of the committee he will present for discussion the problem of unification of the Bulgarian nation. The statute for the work of the new organ will also be formulated. The committee has been formed in response to the objective requirements of sociopolitical life, as a new element on the road toward expanding democracy. Its task is to develop and enrich the socialist values on the basis of pluralism of views and the coalition approach.

Amendment to Economic Decree Discussed
AU1608185189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 12 Aug 89 p 2

[Report on "Amendment to Decree No 56 on Economic Activity," published in issue 62 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK]

[Text] Decree No 1,585 of the People's Republic of Bulgaria dated 4 August 1989 on Amendment of Decree No 56 on Economic Activity. According to the single paragraph of the new decree, in Article 34, paragraph 3 [of Decree No 56], which stated that the minimum nominal value of a share is 1,000 leva, the word "thousand" is replaced by the word "fifty."

The question arises of the considerations that prompted the reduction in the nominal value of a single share from 1,000 leva to 50 leva. The Decree on Economic Activity provides a possibility for the joint stock companies to sell shares to other legal and physical persons. The conversion of companies with state and municipal property into joint stock companies will create conditions for this possibility to be widely applied. The purchase of shares by members of the labor collectives of joint stock companies will to a great extent mobilize the interests of the participants in the production processes, as they will be directly interested in the economic results of the joint stock companies. However, in order for shares to be purchased by the members of labor collectives on a mass scale, it is expedient for the minimum value of the shares to be such as to enable the shares to be acquired by members with lower incomes. It is clear that the minimum nominal share value of 1,000 leva that was determined previously did not provide such an opportunity, and it followed that the value should be reduced to 50 leva. At this share value practically any member of the labor collective will be able to acquire shares in the company in which he works. Then the worker and the employee will manage the company's property better and will devote more concern to ensuring the company's success.

Government Decisions Published in Gazette
AU1608202989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 15 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] The following more important acts are published in Issue 63 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

- Decision No 11 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria dated 10 August 1989 on discussion of the draft law on community centers [narodni chitalishta]. It is proposed that the Fatherland Front National Council, with the participation of the other social organizations and creative unions, should organize a discussion of the draft law. The discussion is to commence when the law is published and is to continue until 15 October 1989; proposals and views on the draft law put forward by the creative collectives, social organizations, mass media, and citizens should be sent to the National Assembly for the attention of the Legislative Commission.
- Extract from Council of Ministers Decision No 118 of 28 July 1989, by which the "Radio and Sound Installations" Enterprise in Sofia, a principal member of the "Communications" Association, ceases to exist as a legal person starting on 1 August 1989.
- Extract from Council of Ministers Decision No 127 of 4 August 1989 on holding a meeting of the CSCE member states on environmental protection. In

volume 12, which will be published, it is stated that, as of 1 August 1989, the Council of Ministers transforms the Scientific Coordination Center on Ecology and Environmental Protection into the Ecology Institute under the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, with the status of a legal person, with its headquarters in Sofia, and with the subject of its activity being research into protecting the natural environment and the environment's effects upon man, including the effects of regional development of the forces of production upon nature.

- The same issue of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK continues the publication of the last section of Order No R-89 of 3 July 1989 of the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education, which announces competitive examinations for research grants for university study in Bulgaria and the CEMA member countries for the 1990-91 academic year. This issue publishes Appendix No 3 concerning extramural research grants for university study in Bulgaria.

IZVESTIYA Views Economic, Social Problems

PM18070739 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report on interview with Rudolf Hegenbart, chief of the State Administration Department, CPCZ Central Committee, by NOVOSTI correspondent V. Fedorov: "In the Heart of Europe, Or Why Czechoslovakia Needs Perestroika"; in Prague, date not specified]

[Text] At IZVESTIYA's request, NOVOSTI correspondent V. Fedorov met at the editorial offices of the magazine SIGNAL, one of Czechoslovakia's major weeklies, with Rudolf Hegenbart, chief of the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] Central Committee's State Administration Department. The large clock on the old tower at Prague Central Station marked the time of the conversation. The thought arose involuntarily that we are indeed in the very center...in the heart of Europe.

[Hegenbart] Yes, yes, people frequently say of our country that it is the "heart of Europe." The paths of European politics, longitude and latitude, began to cross one another here since ancient times. Today the peculiarities of the geographic situation are underscored by other realities: After all, our borders became lines of contact of states with differing social systems. At the foundation of relations with Western partners lies Czechoslovakia's sincere interest in transforming Europe into a continent of enduring peace and cooperation, in creating here a zone of trust and good neighborly relations, and in building a "common European home."

I seem to recall that during World War II, then President Benes called Czechoslovakia a bridge between West and East. I bring up that utterance not in order to defend it, but to complete the picture. And in general I think it is always useful to look back a bit if we want to view contemporary life soberly and truthfully. Of course, the answers to current questions cannot be found in history, yet we may draw many lessons from history.

[Fedorov] And what do you see, looking back?

[Hegenbart] Frankly speaking, I see a country which just one-quarter of a century ago belonged among the 10 most developed countries of Europe, if this is based on generally accepted indices. It does not occupy such a position today.

[Fedorov] But no one coming here would encounter chronically empty store shelves and would not say that there is a low standard of living here.

[Hegenbart] Of course it is impossible not to see that since February 1948 we have covered a path marked by successes. We have managed to do a great deal and we are proud of this. But today it is already impossible to live off of the achievements of the past.

We are troubled by the declining level of our participation in world trade. While in 1970 it was 1.21 percent, in 1987 it was already 0.93 percent. Such a fact can only make us prick up our ears. Czechoslovakia has practically no iron ore of its own, while at the same time it holds first place in world steel production. And it is hardly normal that our industry consumes an enormous amount of energy. Or that the most disparate branches work to fill up warehouses, while even now the volume of reserves created is at the level of the entire annual national income. At the same time, the output of the progressive, modern products we need so much is taking place slowly.

Let us add environmental pollution to the picture. We produce about 35 metric tons of solid waste per capita. The "flow from man to nature" in the CSSR is nearly 10 times more intensive than the world average. Current farming methods have had such a pernicious effect on the state of the environment that they could undermine the defensive and life-giving forces of nature itself, to say nothing of man. Nearly 32 percent of our population lives in ecologically unclean regions, the likes of which are not to be found in any other country. Of course, we ourselves are guilty here. However, we cannot forget that the other industrial centers of Europe—for example, the GDR, Poland, and the FRG—also do their share to spoil things. Although, for the sake of objectivity, I must say that they may declare the same thing about us. After all, we live in the same "European home."

Over one-third of Czechoslovakia's forest area has been damaged. As the result of wide-scale and frequently unjustified construction and extraction of mineral resources, the area of arable land has declined by 12 percent since 1948. Now there is 0.3 hectares of tilled land per resident, one of the lowest indices in Europe.

And Prague itself, a precious gem in the necklace of European cities. We recently allocated enormous resources for the renovation of its historic center. We are also building new residential areas where we want to create the harmony of man and nature without the smoke and smog. However, the atmospheric sulfur dioxide levels in the capital are slightly lower than those in the industrial centers of the Northern Czech Lands. And the concentration of certain other harmful substances is even higher.

It is sad that in average life expectancy we have lately turned up at the bottom rung of the European ladder.

Thus, to return to our question, it can be said that the country's standard of living today is in a state of stagnation. And if we also add to this the manifestation of human and societal alienation taking place here, then it seems to us that society's general condition is not what we would like to see, and not what it could be under socialism.

We recently began to acknowledge for the first time that in addition to low labor morale, negative phenomena are spreading, such as aggressive behavior among youth, "hazing" of students and in the army, and drug addiction. For precisely this reason, we cannot go on without perestroika not only in the economic, but in the political field.

[Fedorov] Do you feel that perestroika in Czechoslovakia is called upon to solve the same problems that we have?

[Hegenbart] The same problems? But that's impossible. The Soviet Union is one of the largest world powers; our state, even by European standards, is among the medium states at best. Yours is a multinational state with a complex path of people's cultural and historical development behind it. It is sufficient to cite the differences between the Baltic republics and Central Asia. In this sense we are more homogeneous in many ways.

Prerevolutionary Russia was among the most backward countries in the system of world capitalism. At the same time a significant portion of the mighty economic potential of Austro-Hungary was located on our territory. Your revolution was victorious in 1917; our victorious February came only 31 years later.

Here democratic institutions, even if they were bourgeois in their foundation, existed legally back in the years of the monarchy; they have their history and traditions. This was why it was possible to implement the February socialist revolution by peaceful, constitutional means.

In a word, the historical development of each of our countries is characterized by distinctive features; this is also manifested in the singularity of the problems we have.

[Fedorov] But all the same, logic would dictate that there must be some similarity in the problems. For example, we just spoke about the ecology. The reasons for the appearance of this problem are probably not very different.

[Hegenbart] You are correct. There are similar features. First and foremost, the ideologically based, so-call "iron concept" of our development made its effects known here, the creation of a powerful metallurgical industry in a country already having a sufficiently well-developed industrial base. In the final analysis, it led to the difficulties previously mentioned.

You frequently speak of the errors of the previous administrative-bureaucratic system and everything associated with it and inherited from it. We can also speak of such shortcomings in our society. A cumbersome system of government has also been created here; various clans and criminal groups tried to exploit it; a shadow economy and protectionism appeared. Structures which had nothing to do with socialism, at least theoretically,

gradually began to emerge. Words frequently did not correspond to actions, and this was becoming the grounds generating public disappointment.

There is one conclusion to be drawn from what has been said: If we cannot bring perestroika to Czechoslovak society, we will be in a deep historical crisis. This is very dangerous.

[Fedorov] Do you have in mind a crisis such as the one that occurred in the late sixties?

[Hegenbart] I don't like the prophecy of gloom—all the more so because things never happen the same way twice. Each historical situation in a concrete time and place is unrepeatable and cannot mechanically be compared to that which took place at some time in the past. And later, development itself may sometimes take an unexpected turn and yield results the likes of which no one had considered at the outset.

Although, on the other hand, the basic regularities are always in effect. It is, after all, a fact that economic problems lead to political instability, and vice versa, an erroneous policy brings with it economic chaos. We still have in effect a model of extensive development, the roots of which go back to the fifties. But conditions were completely different then. You will recall: In that period, Czechoslovakia was one of the few industrially developed countries in the socialist camp. Together with the USSR it made a great contribution to the rapid industrialization of the entire system. Thus, we had to press for quantity without thinking about quality. In contrast to the prewar period, our economy no longer felt the stimulating effects of competition. At the same time, the "cold war," with its limits and embargoes, forced our industry to create its own new branches, at times without taking our limited opportunities into consideration.

Nor should it be forgotten that like other young countries of socialism, in some things Czechoslovakia mechanically copied the the Soviet Union, frequently and unjustifiably disregarding its own traditions and experience.

In addition I will allow myself to assert that there was a lack of creative political and economic thinking at that time, especially in our society's leadership. You are now analyzing your past and are fleshing out your history with real people and facts. I think you will agree with me that we also had similar phenomena and facts. In the process of perestroika you are struggling with the legacy of the past. We too must gain an understanding of this legacy, smelted in the specifics of the Czechoslovak circumstances. This is not simple, and it will still be very difficult. However I want to be understood correctly here as well: We have no intention of deviating from the fundamental goals of building socialism.

[Fedorov] In your view, what will be the most difficult thing here?

[Hegenbart] Attracting people to our side and understanding their interests, hopes, and dreams. Not herding people in an anonymous throng, incapable of influencing the course of events, but rather trying to become imbued with the interests and desires of every citizen. After all, in effect the success of perestrojka depends upon the will of our people. People must have space to manifest their capabilities; such opportunities will be taken into account with the expansion of democratization of our public life and the implementation of profound political reform. Then everyone will be able to discover himself, and will see what he is worth. Then successful cadre rotation may also be possible. It seems that this will allow our country's enormous potential to be utilized to the fullest.

I base my discourse upon the decisions of the December (1987) CPCZ Central Committee Plenum, which set a course toward perestrojka. Many here think this way—CPCZ members, members of other parties, nonparty members, and youth. I see in this the hope for us to once again become one of the highly developed countries of Europe if we overcome within ourselves the high hurdles of complacency, ossification, and dilettantism. The fate of perestrojka depends upon this as well as upon the level of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in science, technology, culture, and production. We have no alternative.

Further on Views Regarding 1968 Intervention

Prague Reports MSZMP 'Standpoint'

LD1608192489 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1824 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Hungary—The MTI press agency today published the standpoint of the Political Executive Committee of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] in connection with the anniversary of events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. It stresses that the assessment of the development of the Czechoslovak society in 1968 is the right and the task of the Czechoslovak people and the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party]. The Hungarian Communists do not wish to interfere in it. The current leadership of the MSZMP, the standpoint goes on to say, does not identify itself with the military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

At the same time, it notes as an historical fact that the then leadership of the Hungarian Communists, respecting the basic norms of international relations and the interests of socialism, originally advocated a political solution. The Political Executive Committee of the MSZMP stresses in conclusion that it is the resolute intention of the party to develop good neighborly Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations and mutually advantageous cooperation, to expand relations between the Hungarian and the Czechoslovak Communists in the spirit of mutual trust, respect, and understanding.

According to CTK, despite this statement—and this is being confirmed by the first few reactions—the standpoint of the Political Executive Committee of the MSZMP published today objectively helps internal and foreign antisocialist forces. Incited by reactionary circles of the West, in contradiction with the historical truth, they wish to misuse the events of 1968 against restructuring and democratization in Czechoslovakia.

Weekly on 'Antisocialist Forces'

LD1708090589 Prague CTK in English
0803 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 17 (CTK)—Liquidating the leading position of the working class and the Czechoslovak Communist Party and replacing the socialist order with a bourgeois democratic system is the real goal of the internal and external enemies of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the weekly of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic TRIBUNA said in its latest issue.

In an article on the activation of anti-socialist forces prior to the coming anniversary of internationalist assistance to Czechoslovakia in August 1968, TRIBUNA said the events of the past two months show that this year a premeditated campaign takes place uniting people and groups seeking a change of the political system in this country. "Under attack is not only the very act of internationalist aid. Its actors strive to grossly distort development in the 1968-69 crisis years as well as in the past two decades and to totally deny results achieved in the process of socialist construction," TRIBUNA stressed.

The campaign waged by the hostile forces wanting to achieve that 1968 internationalist aid is declared ungrounded is aimed above all at a reassessment of the development in the crisis years and at a rehabilitation of those who pursued the policy of those years, the paper said, adding that "a reassessment of the crisis years is also to make possible the legalization of opposition structures and their unrestrained activities against socialism."

The weekly stressed that internationalist aid by five socialist countries in August 1968 was necessary because the party, as a result of the policy of right-wing forces, completely lost control over social processes in the country and the ability to influence them. "All this led to an unrestrained development and seriously jeopardized the very foundations of socialism."

"The actions which opposition structures are preparing for the anniversary of internationalist assistance are designed to express a sort of mass support by the people for their policy. It is, however, quite evident that it is a policy of destruction and disruption, a policy lacking any positive program, directed at negating the socialist system and the results we achieved in the past years," TRIBUNA added.

Hungarian Border Measures Aid Refugees' Flight

*AU1608192589 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 12 Aug 89 p 5*

[Vojtech Vesely report: "Problems With Refugees"]

[Excerpts] Budapest (from our own correspondent)—The number of GDR citizens who have traveled to Hungary legally as tourists this year, but who have illegally crossed into Austria with the intention of getting into the FRG, is estimated to be in the hundreds and some reports put the number in the thousands. These people have taken advantage of the dismantled sections of the 260-km-long electrified fence and the abolition of the border zone, which went into effect on 1 August of this year.

Since that time, every day Hungarian border guards have detained an average of 15 people who had been attempting to cross the border. Groups have been formed which organize the crossings for huge sums of money. It was necessary to set up a holding area for the cars which are left by GDR citizens in front of shops at the border, particularly around Sopron.

The Hungarian measures, as could have been expected, are not leading to the original, humane intention of breaking down the barriers which divide European countries with diverse social systems, but are creating conditions for illegally leaving the country, and it is mainly GDR citizens who are leaving. [passage omitted]

The GDR citizens who are now in the FRG Embassy in Budapest or who are staying in Hungary without a residency permit have practically no prospects of getting to the FRG legally. Those who quickly return to their homeland will not be prosecuted. This was announced in Budapest at the request of the competent GDR organs.

Roundtable Discusses 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact

AU1708104189

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 August on page 3 carries a 5,200-word transcript of a roundtable discussion on the circumstances leading to the outbreak of World War II. The place and date of the discussion, which is entitled "Politics Were Retreating, Weapons Began To Speak," are not given. The panelists are historians Vaclav Cada, Vaclav Melichar, and Tomas Pasak and journalists Karel Doudera and Jaroslav Kojzar.

The panelists stress that the outbreak of World War II was an outcome of the Western powers' policy of appeasement and a direct consequence of the Munich agreement of 1938. They argue that the Soviet Union sought "collective security" against Hitler but that, because of "the negative attitude" of England and France toward the conclusion of an "acceptable agreement" with the Soviet Union, the Soviets were "forced, in fact, to accept the offer of a pact with Germany"

(Kojzar). While the panelists acknowledge that the pact had its advantages at the time (Melichar points out, for example, that it complicated German-Japanese relations and probably prevented Japan from opening an eastern front against the Soviet Union), they also refer to its "negative aspects." Cada notes, for instance, that it "greatly complicated and weakened the entire antifascist and national liberation struggle and, in the case of Poland, led to outright tragic consequences." Melichar adds that the so-called second pact (the Soviet-German treaty on borders and friendship of 28 September 1939), Molotov's speech at the 31 October 1939 session of the Supreme Soviet, and the events which followed "had a negative impact and cannot be assessed positively." At the same time, the panelists take issue with "Western propaganda" claims that the German-Soviet pact allowed Hitler to start the war. Pasak, for instance, argues that Hitler had been planning his attack on Poland since the spring of 1939 and that he would have launched this attack "regardless of the pact of 23 August 1939." Asked about the existence of a secret protocol, the panelists all agree that the determination of a line of contact between the German and Soviet armies must have formed part of the deal. They also point out that Soviet historiography no longer denies the existence of a secret protocol. They also express the view, however, that "the question of the secret protocol is being needlessly dramatized" (Melichar).

Sudeten Germans Desire 'Return to Past'

*AU1608144289 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 14 Aug 89 p 6*

[Karel Doudera commentary: "The Future Is Not in a Return to the Past; Concerning Some Sudeten Views"]

[Excerpts] Europe is going through a transformation process. It is overcoming the barriers of the past and is aiming its sight upon the future architecture of our continent. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, when he was evaluating his visit to West European states at a session of the Supreme Soviet, particularly emphasized the fundamental significance of the joint declaration which was signed in Bonn. This was the first document in which two great European states belonging to diverse systems and to different blocks, on the basis of a philosophical understanding of the changes in the world, jointly specified the aims of their policy. As is known, by this declaration the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany defined as the primary task of their policy, their contribution to the elimination of the division of Europe and the search for ways to build a Europe of peace and cooperation. The course of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the FRG showed that the West German public sympathizes with these efforts.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake not to see that there are certain circles in the FRG, although not numerous, which cannot imagine the future of Europe other than as a return to the past. This is borne out by the discussion

taking place among representatives of the Sudeten German community and in which an argument between two opinions is being conducted.

Doctor Rudolf Hilf from Munich considers it necessary to draw political consequences from historical knowledge. He sees the reason behind everything evil lying in the fact that central Europe has stopped playing the role of an independent political factor and that nationalism, which poisoned relations between the nations of central Europe, caused the break up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and finally destroyed the 1,000-year-long coexistence between Czechs and Germans in the Czech lands. [passage omitted] Hilf sees a starting point in central European cooperation in the aim of "once again becoming an independent factor, this time with a special topical role, to contribute to the breaking down of tension and to greater security in this center, as well as for the East and the West." [passage omitted]

Doctor Adolf Hampel, a professor at the University of Giessen, considers contemporary borders to be permanent and feels that they should not be cast in doubt by the introduction of some kind of German territorial demands. However, at the same time he claims that "the Czechs and Poles, by driving the Germans out, let a great historical opportunity pass by to once more becoming a subject [subjekt] and renewing the spirit of central Europe," nevertheless, "past wrongdoing must not become the instrument of the new relocation of the population." On the contrary, "exiles from the homeland" according to Hampel should act as pioneers of reconciliation in the "new central Europe," which should be "neutral between East and West."

Although both declare that it is necessary to overcome the past, the future which they envisage is in essence a return to the past—to some kind of modification of the Austro-Hungarian Empire by a form of federation or confederation of Danubian states. [passage omitted]

As can be seen, the Sudeten Germans have perverse views on the future of Europe which they present as a return to the times of the post-Munich Great German Empire. This is, of course, at direct variance with the efforts to build a Europe of peace and cooperation. If today they formulate their plans so openly, it is possible to assume that the electoral successes of Schonhuber's neo-Nazi "republicans" have given them added stimulus. However, obviously they would also like to utilize for their aims the complicated processes which are taking place in the socialist countries, and they also are counting on the fact that destructive elements will succeed in destabilizing the situation. However, in their press organs they also express their warm sympathy for them. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, however, we can assure them that they are concocting unrealistic dreams.

It is possible to discuss the future of Europe with everyone who is willing to hold a discussion. For example, it is even possible to agree with Mr. Hilf that it is necessary to overcome nationalist prejudices and link the things from the past that bring us together and not the things that divided us. However, a common European home cannot be built on unrealistic visions. Cooperation between European nations can only be developed while preserving the uniqueness of nations and their state sovereignty and must rest on unconditional respect for the integrity and security of each state. On this basis, it is possible to reach agreement with everyone. Of course, not with those who would like to turn the wheel of European history back to the times of Hitler's Empire.

Bratislava Dissidents Come Under Investigation
AU1608155789 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 15 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Criminal Proceedings for Incitement"]

[Text] Prague—According to a report issued by Major Jiri Belohlavek, press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, criminal proceedings were initiated on Monday [14 August] by the National Security Corps investigator in Bratislava in the matter of disseminating inflammatory statements in Bratislava and in other places in the Slovak Socialist Republic, and for the criminal act of incitement, according to Paragraph 100 of the Penal Code. House searches were carried out at the homes of J.C., L.L.D., H.P., A.S., and M.K. Phd. with the agreement of the city prosecutor in Bratislava. After evaluating the evidence, a decision will be made on the criminal responsibility of the individuals.

Journal Defends Ban on Anti-Party Play
AU1708075489 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 15 Aug 89 p 5

[Article by Jiri Kostner, head of the cultural section at the North Bohemia Regional National Committee: "Where Are the Limits to Dialogue?; On the Article 'From Kosice to As and Further...' in the Journal SCENA"]

[Excerpts] Some professionals working in culture and the arts have recently been lending their names and, so it seems, their personal convictions as well, to various initiatives, the aim of which is direct or indirect confrontation with party and state bodies. All possible sorts of things are deemed suitable for that purpose. Some pretext can always be found. These confrontational actions are always very much alike in their pattern. Geometrically, this pattern represents an equilateral triangle, the first base of which is represented by the speaker. In the second base lies a problem or a pseudo-problem or, sometimes, a pretext. The third base is public opinion, which is to be manipulated according to a scenario prepared in advance.

Many readers are rather fond of aggressive articles which smash to pieces old truths and merits. On the other hand, they reject analyses based on solid foundations and tested principles. In the confrontational articles that have been appearing in some organs of the press recently, objective truth does not play the main role. What matters most in the cases that I have in mind is always to create the impression that it is solely the author of the confrontational or, more accurately, conflicting text who is right. The publication of the text is motivated not so much by the endeavor to redress wrongs as by the effort to overemphasize shortcomings according to the well-known proposition "the worse things are, the better." This is also why, generally speaking, what the opposition forces seek is not so much executive power as the legalized opportunity to criticize and attack those who execute this power. Such criticism is advantageous because it does not commit anyone to anything. Of late, it is also possible to read critical objections that apply the aforementioned geometrical pattern of an equilateral triangle in SCENA, the fortnightly of the Association of Czech Dramatic Artists for questions of the theater, radio, film, and television.

Between the lines of the articles published here it is sometimes easy to discern the attempt to influence the reader from other than artistic positions. I would like to draw attention, in particular, to Pavel Melounek's article published in issue No. 14 of the aforesaid journal, under the headline "The Case of 'From Kosice to As and Even Further' or From Restructuring to Stagnation and Even Further."

I cannot repeat here all of the author's "arguments," which are presented here to the uninformed reader in a more or less distorted or one-sided and artificially construed form. How could they be any different, given the fact that the author did not listen to—or could not, or did not want to listen to—the responsible officials from the cultural section of the North Bohemia Regional National Committee, the Zdenek Nejedly State Theater in Usti nad Labem, and even from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Regional Committee whom he criticizes?

I will focus only on the basic structure of Melounek's article. At the outset he gives space to the standpoint of the Drama Studio [of the Zdenek Nejedly Theater], which complains that Milos Krejci, director of the Zdenek Nejedly State Theater in Usti nad Labem, made use of his legal power and "under peculiar circumstances" withdrew from the repertory of the Drama Studio Petr Polednak's production of Vaclav Beranek's play "From Kosice to As and Even Further." The standpoint of the Drama Studio creates the impression that the play was withdrawn on the basis of an intervention by regional party and state bodies. In the subsequent part of the article, Melounek speaks directly, as he himself puts it, without demagogic hyperbole. What he says, however, is essentially nothing other than a one-sided subjective view of this unique incident in North

Bohemian theatrical life, a view strongly biased in favor of the Drama Studio. The withdrawn play impressed Melounek in many ways, but he fails to provide an objective view. What dominates is an extremely subjective view. An uninitiated observer could gain the impression that the play in question is a very successful, truly superior work of art. [passage omitted] Pavel Melounek somehow failed to mention facts that cast a completely different light on the, surely painful, problem of the play's withdrawal. Why has there been so much publicity around Petr Polednak's production of Beranek's play? Because of its high artistic qualities? Because of its contribution? Certainly not. What, in fact, is the play about? [passage omitted] The spectator follows the story of a young man who, in the pursuit of his career, gradually learns not to shy away from anything. What makes the play "attractive" and "topical" are its unambiguously meant political allusions. It ridicules, for example, membership in the party, communists are portrayed as careerists, as characterless and incompetent individuals, and even the principles of this organization are ridiculed, criticized, and jeered at. On balance, the staged play provides a negativist view of the preceding stage of building socialism in our society. In conclusion, it then casts doubt beforehand on the path of restructuring that has been embarked upon. All this is supposedly out of fear for its fate, that is, for the fate of restructuring itself.

These are the "qualities" in defense of which the banner of disapproval with the play's withdrawal was hoisted. On opening night, a certain part of the audience programmatically applauded precisely these "artistic intentions" of the play, duly ahead of the reaction of the other spectators.

In the course of rehearsals for the play "From Kosice to As and Even Further," we at the cultural section of the Regional National Committee in Usti nad Labem started a dialogue to clarify the divergent views on the perception of the meaning and message of the text. The theater director and the leadership of the Drama Studio participated in this dialogue. To beware of bureaucratic decisionmaking by command, which is rightly being criticized, alongside the authors and creators of this production we invited to this dialogue leading experts from the ranks of theater critics, theorists, and pedagogues, members of the Association of Czech Dramatic Artists, but also sociologists, writers, journalists, as well as political staffers. They agreed on many things and disagreed on others, such as on the question whether to stage the problematic production or not. However, they all unequivocally agreed on the basic question: The artistic qualities of the production that was being prepared were so low that one could hardly speak about art. [passage omitted]

Only Milos Krejci, the theater director himself, can give a reply to the question whether he decided to withdraw the play from the repertory only on the basis of the opinion of the experts, or according to his own judgment.

This also holds true for the question of why he did not let himself be led astray by the standpoints of various groups and by acts of pressure organized by those who have not grasped that what is involved here no longer is an attempt to name and depict on the stage negative phenomena in our society but, essentially, an attempt to misuse the theater for destructive criticism.

What was the continuation of the affair? After the withdrawal of the play "From Kosice to As and Even Further," its producers began to work with the obtained "political capital." Rumors started to make the rounds, letters started to be written to functionaries and newspapers, a barrage of activities started. It was only the withdrawal of this artistically inferior and ideologically truly aberrant play that turned its production into a "sensation" and its makers into the most orthodox fighters for restructuring. Those, on the other hand, who had objective and conclusive critical reservations about the play are demagogically billed on the pages of SCENA as political instructors and administrators of culture who operate by command. [passage omitted]

It is possible to prove that, at the time when a reasonable attitude began to prevail toward the possibility of a public inquiry into the play "From Kosice to As and Even Further," Petr Polednak ceased to be a respectable partner in the dialogue that had just started. This is because on 15 February 1989, that is, on the day of the opening night, he published in SVOBODNE SLOVO an article on the upcoming production, in which he called into question everything rational, describing the endeavor of experts from the Association of Czech Dramatic Artists to help this young producer as "detective story-like, behind-the-scenes measures in examining the play's social acceptability." [passage omitted]

It was precisely Petr Polednak's intransigence and unwillingness that caused the interruption of the dialogue [with the cultural section of the North Bohemia Regional National Committee], which has meanwhile, with a bit of help from the journal SCENA, turned into unscrupulous attacks and into unwarranted accusations of the continuation of management by command and of alleged interference by the North Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee.

What can I add in conclusion? As the process of restructuring progresses and the democratization of all spheres of social life deepens, it is necessary to eliminate from management, and from the management of culture, bureaucracy, command approaches, and all petty and subjectively motivated instances of tutelage and hectoring. To accomplish this, it is necessary to change existing practices and seek new ways. One of them is an open, critical and self-critical, and constructively conducted dialogue. It must be a dialogue that is based on the principles of mutual respect but, above all, on the joint awareness of responsibility, lest restructuring be misused to weaken the socialist social system and to

retreat from class-based approaches and ideological criteria in tackling all fundamental issues of the development and spreading of culture and the arts.

Cuban Foreign Minister Malmierca Concludes Visit
AU1608124389 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 14 Aug 89 p 6

[CTK and "(HOR)"-signed report: "We Recognize the Right to an Independent Road; the Cuban Foreign Minister Meets With Journalists"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent and CTK)—Isidoro Malmierca, foreign minister of the Republic of Cuba, expressed his satisfaction over the results of his visit to Czechoslovakia at a meeting with Czechoslovak and foreign journalists prior to his departure from Prague on Sunday [13 August].

He spoke about the benefit of the exchange of views during his conversations with Czechoslovak representatives headed by Gustav Husak, CSSR president. While evaluating international political development, he emphasized that "it is still necessary to continue in a process heading away from confrontation and towards dialogue so that this becomes lasting and irreversible and so that after East-West detente is achieved, detente also takes place between North and South." He stated that he briefed his Czechoslovak counterpart, Jaromir Johanes, in detail about the Cuban approach toward preparations for the ninth Non-Aligned Movement conference, which will take place in Belgrade in September, as the CSSR will participate in it for the first time as a guest.

On Czechoslovak-Cuban relations, he commented that they are characterized by long-term tradition and by a high comprehensive standard. In September, consultations will take place concerning the coordination of national economic plans which should consider new suggestions and projects to improve the commercial, economic, and scientific-technical cooperation between both socialist countries in a spirit of mutual expediency.

Replying to questions on the recent development in the socialist countries, the Cuban minister stressed that "Cuba fully recognizes the right to an independent road. We can, but we do not have to, agree with the changes and with the methods of development. However, as we have emphasized many times, we defend the right to independent development both for Cuba and for any other country. The Cuban people have chosen the road of the construction of socialism and they are resolved to defend this with weapons in their hands. That is the will of our people, and we will assert this will independently of the roads other countries choose."

Later, Minister Malmierca spoke about Cuban-U.S. relations which recently, through the fault of the U.S. Government, have again worsened. For example, its recent measures prevent companies in the United States from carrying out business in third markets with Cuban

companies. The United States has practically refused to cooperate in the struggle against drugs, although recently Cuba has taken severe action against Cuban functionaries involved in this dangerous trade. The United States is openly interfering in Cuba's internal affairs via inflammatory radio broadcasts and it is also preparing television broadcasts; by this they are violating international conventions," said Isidoro Malmierca.

In reply to a RUDE PRAVO question on Cuba's involvement in the process of settling the situation in Central America, Minister Malmierca stated that Cuba welcomes the recent effort by the Central American presidents and wants to contribute, within the framework of its possibilities, so that this issue is settled in accordance with the recently concluded agreements. We will maintain contacts with Nicaragua, and we have offered the cooperation of some of our military experts. We are also prepared to respect the decision which should be contained in the agreement that military advisers should not operate on any territory. We are acting on our principles in this position.

On Sunday, the Cuban foreign minister ended his official visit and departed from the CSSR.

Husak Receives New Afghan Ambassador
LD1608134489 Prague CTK in English
1232 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here Wednesday new Afghan Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Mohammad Aziz.

In a friendly discussion, they reviewed the level of mutual relations and expressed bilateral interest in their further extension in all spheres in harmony with an agreement on friendship and cooperation. At the same time, support was voiced to Afghanistan's efforts for national reconciliation.

Foreign Minister Leaves for Geneva
LD1608212289 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1600 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes left today on a working visit to Geneva. He is to deliver a speech at a plenary meeting of the Disarmament Conference. He is also to hold talks during his visit to Geneva with leading representatives of important Geneva-based international organizations of the United Nations.

Accident in Odolov Mine, Trutnov Basin Kills 3
AU1608204089 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 14 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)—A mine accident, in which three persons were killed, occurred in the course of the afternoon shift in the Odolov Mine of the Kladno Mines in the Trutnov coal basin on Friday 11 August.

During blasting, an explosion of gases occurred, which suffocated the miners. Workers of the pertinent bodies and institutions arrived at the mine immediately. The Public Security Corps and the State Mining Administration are investigating the causes of the accident.

Janak Reassures Miners About Restructuring
AU1708084589 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 12 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Complete Support for the Party's Program"]

[Excerpts] Novaky—Yesterday, Ignac Janak, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, and Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, went down into a pit of the Slovak Coal Mine [SUB] state enterprise, at the Bana Novaky plant, and visited the miners of the youth collective of the Fourth Socialist Youth Union Congress, led by their foreman Mikulas Pallfy. [passage omitted]

At present, the efforts of the entire 12,000-strong collective are concentrated on the smooth transition to the conditions of the new economic system, Anton Kopun, general director of the SUB state enterprise, informed the guests. Overall, however, this transition is not without problems. [passage omitted] As the representatives of party organizations later pointed out to their guests, among the miners there prevails a certain impatience and anxiety about restructuring. They need to clearly understand the point of view not only on further development in the mining sphere but also on the forms of structural changes which are under preparation.

Comrades Ignac Janak and Pavel Hrivnak promised the support of party and state organs. An analysis of the previous period of society's development and the prognosis for future years, however, fully confirm that the party's course toward restructuring is not realistic without significant structural changes, not only in the power industry and in the extraction of raw materials but also in many other branches. However, they assured those present that in harmony with the aims of the 17th CPCZ Congress and other party sessions, these changes will not lead to unemployment. Comrade Ignac Janak further briefed them on the current tasks of the party. In preparing for the 18th CPCZ Congress and in implementing the tasks of restructuring economic and social life, it is extremely important that the new thinking becomes rooted in the party ranks and that all CPCZ members become more active. This literally involves the politicization of the work of party organizations and organs, with particular emphasis being placed on mass political work. This means the ability not only to raise but also to respond to all the issues of society's development and to eradicate, as the case may be, doubts about the aims and consequences of the restructuring process.

The employees at the SUB state enterprise handed Comrades Ignac Janak and Pavel Hrivnak a letter addressed to the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government in which they expressed a decisive condemnatory point of view against the efforts by anti-socialist forces in the CSSR and pronounced their complete support for the CPCZ program. Among other things, they demand in their letter that the government, using all legal means, prevents these unfriendly elements from spreading unrest, from subverting order and people's peaceful work, and from introducing a schism into society. [passage omitted]

21-Year-Old Speech Published for 'Relevance'
AU1608135989

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 10 August on page 5 and on 11 August on page 5 publishes in two installments a 2,800-word speech by Slovak writer Laco Novomesky, former member of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Presidium, made at a conference of the Association of Slovak Writers in April 1968. In an introductory note to the speech, which is headlined "Differentiation in the Community of Slovak Writers," PRAVDA notes that "we deem it necessary, precisely in the present cultural-political situation, to publish this statement by Novomesky" because the "standpoints and arguments expressed in it have not lost their validity."

In the bulk of the speech, Novomesky defends a group of Slovak writers (Valek, Mihalik, and Matuska) against criticism leveled at them by several Czech writers (Vaculik, Kundera, Klima, and Liehm) at the Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers Association in 1967, especially against the charge that they are not "progressive" and that they "impede the process of democratization." In another part of the speech, Novomesky criticizes various articles and political cartoons that appeared in the Slovak press during those days and which he considers to be directed against the Communist Party and socialism. Finally, Novomesky criticizes Arnost Lustig and other unnamed Czechoslovak writers for having taken Israel's side in the Israeli-Arab war in June 1967.

Nuclear Power Defended as Cheap, Clean, Safe
AU1608164289 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 15 Aug 89 p 4

[Article by Professor Engineer Karel Barabas, doctor of sciences, from the chair of Electricity Generation and Distribution at the Czech College of Technology, Prague: "Distrust Is Out of Place; Nuclear Power—Contribution to an Improved Environment"]

[Excerpts] As in most industrially advanced states, in the CSSR, too, nuclear power plays an important role in securing supplies of electricity to the entire national

economy. Today its development is so important globally that finding an economically sustainable alternative to it is not realistic. [passage omitted]

To be able to objectively assess the question of the relationship between nuclear power and the environment, we must not disregard the economic aspect. [passage omitted]

As far as the CSSR is concerned, in 1987 the production and distribution costs per kilowatt hour of electricity generated in the Jaslovske Bohunice and Dukovany nuclear power stations amounted to between Kcs0.17 and Kcs0.19. The production costs for each kilowatt hour of electricity generated in our large coal-fired power stations averaged Kcs0.27.

This cost did not comprise the outlays on desulfurization, which, as is known, are relatively high. This does not mean, however, that we should become reconciled to the growth of investment costs of nuclear power stations. There are ways not only of stopping the growth of the investment costs of nuclear power stations but possibly even of slightly reducing these costs. According to the experiences of some states, these lie, above all, in the attainment of a high degree of standardization of the technological equipment. [passage omitted]

Investments in power stations also project investments in environmental protection. When building large coal-burning power stations, we must invest twice. First, in the power station itself and, second, in installations designed to eliminate its negative impact on the environment. In other words, we are able to reduce sulfur dioxide emissions, but only at a great price. What needs to be considered as well, however, are carbon dioxide emissions, which cannot be eliminated by any method when fossil fuels are used. [passage omitted] Because increased concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere create the so-called greenhouse effect, it is, and will be, the duty of states to reduce not only emissions of sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides, but also emissions of carbon dioxide. France can serve as an example in this respect. Thanks to the high proportion of electric power generated in nuclear power stations, between 1980 and 1986 total emissions of sulfux dioxide there declined 56 percent, and emissions of nitrogen oxides from power stations declined 60 percent, which offset the increase in emissions of nitrogen oxides by motor vehicles. Emissions of carbon dioxide, too, were cut roughly 60 percent. [passage omitted]

As a consequence of two accidents—the accident in the Two Mile Island nuclear power station in the United States in 1979 but, above all, the accident in the Chernobyl nuclear power station in the USSR in 1986, many

people distrust nuclear power. Subjectively, this is understandable, but objectively it is incorrect. [passage omitted] After the technical and organizational measures that have been adopted, an accident such as that which occurred at the fourth unit of the Chernobyl nuclear power station must not, and even cannot, repeat itself. My personal view is that the public discussion on nuclear safety is correct but that, to be able to draw objective conclusions, it must be conducted free of emotions, on the basis of scientific facts. Unfortunately, we bear witness to the fact that some people are trying to take advantage of the public discussion in order to paralyze the process of rational decisionmaking which is necessary for society's further development. And this is not only wrong, but even harmful for society. [passage omitted]

Let us return once again to the main question, the positive influence of nuclear power stations on the environment, compared with power stations which burn fossil fuels. For the sake of objectivity, we must first mention the so-called thermal pollution which is caused by both conventional power stations and by nuclear power stations, where this pollution is greater. This is the case because the existing pressurized-water nuclear reactors have a lower thermal efficiency (of 32-33 percent) than coal-burning power stations (37 to 38 percent). [passage omitted] It is therefore necessary to seek ways of exploiting this "waste heat" in the agriculture-food complex, to provide greenhouses with heat, for example, or to promote carp breeding, mushroom growing, and the like. This is also one way of coming to terms with the problem of evaporation of water from cooling towers. [passage omitted]

Kcs172 Billion Earmarked for Environment
AU1608163489 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 15 Aug 89 p 2

[Svatopluk Smutny reply to a reader's letter: "How Much Money Is This?"]

[Text] [Reader L.S. from Prague 4] In your article on preparations for the long-term forecast, it was stated that in the following 5-year plans a sum of about 75 percent more than before is always to be earmarked for environmental protection. How much money is this?

[Smutny] We stated that in the long-term forecast up to the year 2005 three gradual aims are being considered in the protection and shaping of the environment. Before the year 1995, it is necessary to put a permanent halt to unfavorable development in the environment, before the year 2000 to substantially improve the overall quality of the environment, and in the period after the year 2000 to gradually renew the ecological balance throughout CSSR territory. A condition of fulfilling the above-mentioned aims is the implementation of necessary measures of an investment nature, while it is thought that the volume of investments for environmental protection should be increased in every 5-year plan by at least 75 percent. Because expenditure of around Kcs17 billion is planned for in the 8th 5-Year Plan, this means putting perhaps Kcs30 billion aside for investments in protecting and shaping the environment in the 9th 5-Year Plan, roughly Kcs52 billion in the 10th 5-Year Plan, and more than Kcs90 billion in the 11th 5-year Plan. Overall, then, the overall forecast deals with the release of approximately Kcs172 billion for investment projects such as those mentioned above.

FRG Envoy Summoned, Activities in Hungary Protested
LD1608151689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1401 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The head of the FRG Permanent Mission, Dr Franz Bertele, was summoned to a discussion in the Foreign Affairs Ministry on Wednesday.

The acting director of the West Germany Department in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Ambassador Hans Schindler, lodged a strong protest with Dr Bertele about activities, which run counter to international law, by the FRG Embassy in the People's Republic of Hungary in connection with GDR citizens. It was pointed out that these actions by the FRG Embassy in Budapest are incompatible with contractually stipulated relations between the GDR and the FRG. In Article 4 of the treaty about the foundations of relations, both states expressly agreed "that neither of the two states can represent or act on behalf of the other internationally." This fundamental principle does, of course, also refer to the relationship with citizens of the other state.

Ambassador Hans Schindler emphasized the GDR's standpoint, which has repeatedly been expressed in total concord with international law, that FRG diplomatic missions have no right whatsoever to exercise a so-called duty to look after GDR citizens. In the interest of the desire expressed by the two states in the joint communique between Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl, signed in September 1987, to develop normal, neighborly bilateral relations on the basis of equality, H. Schindler pointed out the necessity for the FRG to immediately stop such practices.

FRG Pilot Violates Airspace Near Rostock
LD1608172189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1447 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On 15 August 1989, a single engine FRG GROB 6115 aircraft, registration number D-EOGC, violated GDR airspace over the Rostock Bezirk [area]. The person violating GDR airspace was forced to land by the forces responsible for the air sovereignty of the GDR. The pilot was citizen Klaus-Dieter Herke, born on 27 February 1938, resident of West Berlin.

Once the reasons for the violation of airspace had been established by the investigatory bodies responsible, the pilot was expelled to West Berlin.

The GDR Permanent Mission in the FRG registered a protest in the FRG Chancellor's Office about the violation of GDR airspace and said it was expected that that competent authorities in the FRG would take steps to prevent future violations of GDR airspace.

FRG 'Campaign' on Asylum-Seekers Criticized
AU1708104389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 10 Aug 89 p 2

[Report by television correspondent Olaf Dietze from Bonn: "What is Behind the Frontline Reporting"]

[Text] Here in Bonn many people are asking themselves what is intended by the hysterical mass media campaign about some people who want to illegally leave the GDR via foreign missions. For it cannot only be the political summer lull that causes ARD and ZDF, radio, and newspapers to turn abruptly to a kind of "frontline" reporting. It is an attempt to induce GDR citizens to take rash steps and to totally distort the truth by giving instructions to illegally cross the border, and by lying about an alleged restriction on travels to Hungary, and wild manipulations of figures.

They are talking of a "great inflow." However, they do not mean 3.288 million trips by GDR citizens to the FRG and Berlin (West) in the first 7 months of this year or more than 1.8 million trips by GDR citizens to the Hungarian People's Republic. No, those who are interested in adding fuel to the atmosphere mean those 131 people who are camping in inhuman conditions in the reception hall of the Permanent Mission of the FRG in Berlin or those 158 people in Bonn's Embassy in Budapest. The local authorities know, of course, the figures and that they are disproportionately represented. Thus, there would be no reason for hysteria. Therefore, one asks oneself what is really behind it.

Apparently, Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the Bundestag Group of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany, is putting his finger on an open sore as he reproaches the Bonn Government with having "encouraged the whole affair" through its policy, which is expressed by the motto "My Germans all over the world, come closer!". He stated at a news conference that this policy could only harm the future development of travels, which have already reached surprising dimensions. Antje Vollmer, spokeswoman of the Greens Bundestag Group, was even more outspoken. She denounced the nationalist tones in Bonn and accused the so-called Ministry of Inner-German Relations and its State Secretary Hennig, who was the leader of the revanchist association of the East Prussians for many years, of his "Pan-German theory of one state" from which conclusions on his ministry's nationalist way of thinking and language can be drawn. This is either silly talk or irresponsibly playing with fire, she said.

These opinions are also shared by others to whom I talked. For example, the exaggerated anti-GDR campaign is said to be aimed at concealing problems that cannot be mastered in their own country, the FRG: problems with the asylum-seekers, the increasingly pressing housing shortage, mass unemployment, and many things more.

The rightist, ultra-conservative politicians and the television, radio, and press journalists who work for them use this virulent campaign to further propagate their revanchist claims of reestablishing the German Reich in the 1937 borders. Thus, in addition, those who were taken in by the propaganda of the FRG and are now in its embassies are downright abused.

However, there are also politicians in Bonn who consider the present campaign as politically short-sighted because it does not serve anybody and can ultimately only strain the relations between the two German states. Nobody who thinks to a certain extent realistically can desire anything else but a normal development of relations between the FRG and the GDR. Thus, we ask ourselves again why these relations are permitted to be harmed.

In connection with the closing of the Bonn mission in the GDR, even Rudolf Seiters, chief of the Bonn Chancellery, warned against intentions to illegally leave the country via FRG Embassies in other countries. Exclusively GDR authorities are authorized to deal with travel affairs of GDR citizens, he said.

Connoisseurs of the GDR policy in Bonn also know that no GDR citizen is prevented from visiting a foreign embassy and that nobody who leaves it again has to fear consequences.

Warning voices point out that this campaign of Bonn's interference in internal affairs of the GDR is apt to provoke "harsher actions" by the GDR. After all, no state can permit itself to be blackmailed, and the GDR has to take care that the laws in its country are equally valid for all citizens. In the statement by the spokesman of its Foreign Ministry, it clearly presented its position on all these questions. The overall positive development of relations between the two German states in the past few years must not be harmed by the attempts of extreme-right politicians and journalists who are close to the revanchist associations of expellees and refugees and want to distinguish themselves.

Readers' Letters on FRG Interference *AU1608134989*

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 10 August on page 2, under the headline "GDR Citizens on the Statement of the Foreign Ministry Spokesman on 8 August 1989," carries 18 letters, ranging from 30 to 200 words long, from workers in several GDR enterprises who fully agree with the statement by the GDR Foreign Ministry on the FRG's interference in the internal affairs of the GDR. They condemn "attempts by FRG missions in foreign countries to act on behalf of GDR citizens in travel and visa affairs so that they can leave the GDR illegally."

FRG Reports on Neo-Nazism in GDR Rejected *AU1608160489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12-13 Aug 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Two Worlds"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Again and again, the assertion is made in the FRG that, like in the FRG, neo-Nazism is also developing in the GDR. This is pure nonsense because the fact alone that any neo-Nazi tendency is severely punished in accordance with the laws valid in the GDR shows that this is a lie. The fact alone that the neo-Nazi Republicans of Schoenhuber, former member of Adolf Hitler's SS-Leibstandarte [elite troops], and other organizations of this type are permitted, while in the GDR any Nazi association is prohibited, shows the difference between the GDR and the FRG. The assertion by certain people in the GDR that no administrative action can be taken against the Republicans is also regarded as ridiculous in the FRG because the Communist Party of Germany was prohibited there despite its great resistance and its many sacrifices in the struggle against fascism. Democratic organizations, such as the Free German Youth and the Democratic Women's League of Germany, suffered the same fate.

Apparently, the defamation of the GDR is intended to divert the attention of the world public from the increasing danger of neo-Nazism in the FRG.

NDPD Chairman Addresses Executive Committee *LD1708090189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1611 GMT 15 Aug 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) sees the strategic orientation for the implementation of the meaning and the aims of socialism in the GDR, sustained by a broad development of socialist democracy, as lying in the unity of economic and social policy. This was stated by Party Chairman Prof Dr Heinrich Homann at a session of the party's Executive Committee in Berlin today. He reiterated the NDPD's cooperation in continuing the policy of the GDR, which is aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

"We do not want to retreat, but to advance further. What we possess and have gained through work must be consolidated, extended, and developed. We will not permit any manner of attempts at interference in our country's internal affairs here," Prof Homann said.

At the same time, he set himself against any attempt to defame the results of the diligent work of GDR citizens, and the history and achievements of their state. Members of the NDPD are committed to the GDR the party chairman said, and added, "It is in accordance with our responsibility in this eventful and animated period that we should protect and strengthen our alliance with the leading working class and their Marxist-Leninist party,

and make all our national experiences usable for an effective joining of forces by the socialist states and, above all, for the fraternal link, the combat alliance with the Soviet Union."

Honecker Greets Guyana's People's Congress

AU1608160089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 14 Aug 89 p 1

[ND report: "SED Central Committee to Eighth Congress of the People's National Congress of Guyana"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) has addressed the following greetings message to the Eighth Congress of the National People's Congress of Guyana (PNCG), which will be opened in Georgetown today, Monday [14 August]:

Esteemed Comrades,

The SED Central Committee conveys to you, the delegates to the Eighth PNCG, cordial greetings.

Attentively and full of sympathy, we follow the activities of the PNCG to strengthen political sovereignty and economic independence. Your party's efforts to transform the Caribbean into a zone of peace and good-neighborly relations between the states in the region is highly appreciated.

It fills us with satisfaction that there are friendly contacts between the SED and the PNCG and that our parties and states cooperate closely in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and equal cooperation between the peoples.

Rest assured that the SED will continue to support the trustful relations with the PNCG in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity and to the benefit of our peoples.

Esteemed delegates, please accept our best wishes for the success of your party congress.

With socialist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker,

General secretary.

Navy Ships Begin Visit to Helsinki

LD1508175789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1600 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Helsinki (ADN)—The GDR People's Navy coastal protection ships "Rostock" and "Wismar," commanded by Rear Admiral Gerhard Mueller, moored in Helsinki harbor today on a 3-day fleet visit. The crews were warmly welcomed by representatives of the Finnish Navy and numerous citizens.

After arrival, the GDR military personage paid visits to Dr Raimo Ilaskivi, mayor of Helsinki, Rear Adm Juha Tikka, commander in chief of the Finnish Navy, and other personalities. [passage omitted]

PZPR CC Delegation Concludes Visit

AU1608150389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "PZPR Delegation Visits Polish Children in GDR Holiday Camps; Youth Exchange Evaluated as a Symbol of Solidarity"]

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) headed by Antoni Dragan, sector director in the PZPR Central Committee, concluded a several-day visit to the GDR on Thursday [10 August]. They had met with children and young people from their homeland who are spending their vacation with members of the Free German Youth and the Pioneers in Magdeburg Bezirk. [passage omitted]

Berlin Signs Cooperation Protocol With Manila

AU1608164189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 12-13 Aug 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Cooperation Protocol Signed by Berlin and Manila"]

[Text] Manila (ADN)—A protocol on the cooperation between the municipal authorities of Berlin and the City of Manila from 1989-90 was signed by the mayors of the two cities, Erhard Krack and Gemiliano Lopez, in Manila on Friday [11 August]. Both sides stated that since the signing of the sister-city agreement in Berlin in 1987, their friendly cooperation has constructively and continuously developed as an important contribution to international understanding. Erhard Krack invited his counterpart to visit the GDR capital in 1990. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

On the same day, Erhard Krack laid a wreath at the memorial for Philippine national hero Jose Rizal.

Berlin Mayor Meets Tokyo Governor

AU1608151889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11 Aug 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Meeting Between Berlin Mayor and Tokyo Governor"]

[Text] Tokyo (ADN)—Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack met with Tokyo Mayor Shunichi Suzuki in the Japanese metropolis on Thursday [10 August]. During the meeting, the Japanese municipal politician paid tribute to the GDR's policy of dialogue. He expressed his appreciation for the development of the economy and housing construction in the GDR capital. Close cooperation between the cities is required, not least in order to prevent a nuclear war, Suzuki stressed.

Krack emphasized the importance of the preservation of peace for the cities social development. The world conference of mayors "For Peace Through the Solidarity of the Cities" in Hiroshima and Nagasaki had again clearly stressed this idea, he said.

MSZMP Standpoint on 1968 Czech Intervention
*LD1608174589 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] The current leadership of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] does not identify itself with the 1968 military intervention in Czechoslovakia. A standpoint on this has been issued by the Political Executive Committee. At the same time, the document establishes, as a historical fact, that the Hungarian leadership of the time, while respecting the basic norms of international relations and the interests of socialism, originally believed in a political settlement. The Political Executive Committee expresses its resolute stand that every socialist country should choose, in a sovereign manner, the path of its development, and it rejects military and other intervention in one another's internal affairs.

The principled stand of the MSZMP is that the differences in views of the countries and the parties can be resolved only with open, clarifying debates. The Political Executive Committee emphasizes that the MSZMP's resolute intention is the development of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak good-neighborly relationship and mutually advantageous cooperation, the expansion of inter-party relations, a spirit of mutual trust, of respect and understanding for one another.

The standpoint of MSZMP Political Executive Committee also states that an evaluation of the processes that took place in Czechoslovak society in 1968 is the right and task of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The MSZMP does not wish to intervene in this.

Further on Standpoint
*LD1708085189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] A group of Hungarian historians have issued a standpoint condemning the intervention against Czechoslovakia 21 years ago. The 29 historians, including Kalman Benda, Tibor Hajdu, Peter Hanak, Peter Simon, and Gyoergy Spira believe that the intervention by the five Warsaw Pact member states proved unlawful and harmful not only subsequently, but from the very moment that the decision was made. The Hungarian State and Party leadership of 1968, primarily Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] made a serious mistake. Historians do not consider it an extenuating circumstance that Hungary was forced to join the intervention, since the reluctance proves only that the decision makers were aware of the consequences—thus, that not only were they suppressing Czechoslovak national democracy, but they were hampering, for further decades, the development of the people of central Europe.

Historical data prove that the Hungarian leadership was not unavoidably forced to join the military operation against Czechoslovakia, 29 noted Hungarian historians state.

Smallholders Party, Others Condemn Intervention
*LD1708090789 Budapest MTI in English
1528 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—The independent Smallholders' Party has issued a statement, condemning the intervention of five member states of the Warsaw Treaty in Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968.

Peter Hardi, deputy general secretary of the Smallholders' Party, informed MTI about the statement. He said the document notes that hope arose in 1968 for the peoples of Czechoslovakia to cast off the remnants of the Stalinist dictatorship. The foreign army consisting of soldiers of five member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, including Hungary, crushed these hopes on August 21, 1968. According to the independent Smallholders' Party, the harmful effects of the Czechoslovak intervention have been felt ever since.

On the 21st anniversary of the 1968 occupation of Czechoslovakia, the National Board of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) has issued a statement expressing its solidarity with the Czech, the Slovak and the Czechoslovak Hungarian opposition movements, the Charta 77, the authors, distributors and signatories of the appeal entitled 'A Few Sentences'. It is our conviction, runs the statement, that the intervention of the Hungarian Army in Slovakia at that time was in opposition to the will of Hungarian society.

The board calls on Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Miklos Nemeth, prime minister, to apologize on behalf of the ruling party and the Council of Ministers to the Czech and Slovak peoples, and the Hungarian minority living there for the Hungarian participation in the invasion. According to the FIDESZ statement, the Prague spring has a place among the freedom struggles of the European and Asian peoples oppressed by communist power in modern times. In Czechoslovakia, an autocrat communist party made peaceful, non-violent changes possible for the first time in history.

People's Party on Elections for President
*LD1608123189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] The Hungarian People's Party proposes that the National Assembly announced elections for the president of Republic in September. This was in reaction to yesterday's announcement by Geza Kilenyi, deputy minister of justice, that the government is going to submit the so-called vital laws to the National Assembly, which includes the institution of the president of the Republic.

The Hungarian Government is doing this in spite of the fact that a decision has not been reached at the trilateral coordinating talks. Istvan Szelloe reports in detail on the stance of the Hungarian People's Party:

[Szelloe] Contrary to Geza Kilenyi's announcement, the Hungarian People's Party proposes that the National Assembly declare the elections should be held in the first half of September and not after the parliamentary elections. According to them, the practical way to achieve the goal is to come to an agreement with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. In the next 10 days, they are willing to talk every day, if necessary.

According to the People's Party, the independence of the government from the MSZMP is a mere illusion. The task is to speed up the political coordinating talks. The National Assembly cannot dissolve itself because this would endanger not the opposition but rather the future of the country itself. Therefore, the practical solution for the National Assembly is to put the political agreement accepted by the three parties on its agenda.

The Hungarian People's Party has submitted a package plan consisting of six points at one of the session of the Opposition Roundtable. As was said by Csaba Varga, the party spokesman, time is running out, and the internal and foreign political conditions are worsening. They see the possibility of improvement in starting talks on three points: the amendment of the constitution, the regulation of the parties, and the election laws. The plans were debated lengthily and with the exception of one, agreement was reached. The exception was disagreement regarding the time of the appointment of the president of the Republic. The party would like the president of the Republic to be elected in the fall because in the vacuum created after the declaration of the elections, there is a need for a guarantee of political power.

MSZDP To Propose Candidates for Presidency

LD1608150889 Budapest MTI in English
1400 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—Should the elections be brought forward earlier than they should be, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) will be putting forward several candidates for the post of president of the Republic, the MSZDP informed MTI. The 9th district basic organization of the party, the Renewal Platform, and leaders of the organizing union of the MSZDP, proposed to the members of the party board session scheduled for August 26 that a committee of 5 to 7 members nominate candidates for president of the Republic. These bodies consider the appeal and initiative of the Democratic Youth Federation of Hungary (DEMISZ) for a referendum to be not only hasty, but politically dangerous as well. In their view, the Hungarian people have shown political level-headedness in the past year, and only those in power and the organizations affiliated to them are speaking about the dangers of

the transition. The members of the provincial and Budapest organizations of the MSZDP consider it entirely unjustified to hold any sort of election before the time is right.

The mentioned bodies of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary are turning to the other basic organizations and platforms to request reconfirmation of their view: the peaceful nature of the democratic transition in Hungary can only be ensured if the elections are held in a sober manner, with thorough consideration and with due information.

Reckoning with the danger that, as the effect of the various forces, the elections will be forced ahead, the honesty of democracy will then demand that the MSZDP also make proposals, either independently or together with other opposition forces, for the future president of the Republic.

Pozsgay Interviewed on Signature Campaign

LD1608205989 Budapest MTI in English
1910 GMT 16 Aug 89

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—As reported, the Hungarian Democratic Youth Union (DEMISZ) is launching a signature collecting campaign, urging the early setting-up of the post of the president of the Republic, made possible by the Law on Popular Initiatives. This move is considered by the opposition roundtable as a violation of the preliminary agreement with the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. The opinion has been voiced that Imre Pozsgay, the HSWP's candidate for the post of the president of the Republic, could be the initiator. MTI asked Mr Pozsgay for his views:

"There were no initiatives whatsoever on my part, Mr Pozsgay replied. The HSWP and I personally have been informed through the press about the launching of this campaign. I wish to point out that I do not consider it to be right, because it runs contrary to preliminary agreements signed at the coordination discussions, and lessens the chances of reaching an agreement. I am in favour of continuing discussions in accordance with the preliminary agreements. No new circumstances have emerged which would call for the suspension of these discussions, or breaking them off. On the contrary, we seem to have come closer to the possibility of reaching an agreement on several important issues.

The delegation of the HSWP, including myself, advocates fair handling of the discussions. Concerning my person, I can only say that I have no personal motive whatsoever that might induce me to put at risk or give up negotiations on a political solution while there is a chance of reaching agreement. What we are talking about here is the fate of the nation, and an important part of that is the creation of a constitutional state of European

standards, which does not restrict its citizens in their right of association, self-determination, or their right to formulate their own independent opinion on socialism or its possible repudiation. I would appreciate it if Hungarian public opinion would come to understand that in my view, the ongoing debate over the post of the president of the Republic is not a party issue, but an overall national one. To achieve progress in the discussions we have to concentrate on the interest of the nation and not the endeavours of the party. Therefore separate campaigns by participants of the discussions remain unacceptable while a chance for agreement exists, and the sides demonstrate a readiness to cooperate for the nation.

Q: As a participant of the third side, DEMISZ referred to the press conference by Istvan Kukorelli, executive president of the People's Front, who talked about the possibility of a popular initiative with regard to the post of the president of the Republic. What is your opinion?

"At the press conference which was made possible according to a preliminary agreement between the sides, the issue was handled in a fair way," Mr Pozsgay replied. In answer to a question whether the campaign to be launched by DEMISZ might disrupt ongoing coordination discussions, Mr Pozsgay said:

All such campaigns may cause disruption in the presently promising progress of discussions. I do not presume it was an ill-intentioned action, more likely a politically naive one which can be attributed to the justified impatience of youth. I wish to repeat that it is a political solution which is important to me, and therefore we have to keep to the rules of the preliminary agreement, being fully aware of the responsibility of each negotiating side."

Q: Matyas Bundzsaklia, deputy head of department of the HSWP Central Committee made a statement in a Tuesday programme of the Hungarian television that the HSWP never intended to bring forward the date of the presidential election. At the same time it is public knowledge that up to now, the party aimed to bring forward the election.

"That is true. I presume that under the pressure of the live telecast, Mr Bundzsaklia omitted to say so, and did not get another chance to do so. It is indeed the case that the HSWP considers this logic and historic order of events to be correct. Accordingly, the guarantee of a peaceful transition, a publicly elected president, with controlled medium powers would help the upkeep of political balance, and cooperation between citizens and parties until the creation of a constitutional state is achieved, through the free election of a parliament, the constitutional court and other legal institutions. As far as I know, it was proposed by the opposition that the

election of the new MPs [Member of Parliament] and the president of the Republic should take place simultaneously. All these remain open issues for the time being, Mr Pozsgay concluded.

Demszky, Koszeg Discuss Domestic Situation
AU1608162189 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL
in German 14 Aug 89 pp 120-121

[Interview with Gabor Demszky and Ferenc Koszeg, Presidium members of the Hungarian League of Free Democrats, by unidentified reporter: "We Are All Suspicious"—date and place not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Did you expect that you would take away three constituencies from the Hungarian communist party?

Demszky: No, we were also surprised. We had not expected such an overwhelming success.

DER SPIEGEL: Will this not entail the danger that the communists have had enough of democratic elections now that they have seen that the voters do not honor their reform willingness?

Koszeg: I do not think that they can reverse the reform process, even if they wanted to. That would not be possible by political means; if at all, it would be possible by police or military means. Such means would today no longer be acceptable to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. I think that the MSZMP will find a possibility within the reform process to keep an adequate place for itself.

Demszky: The party is in the worst situation in its history. It has had to admit that it does not have a leadership, nor a program, nor ideas to mobilize its members. Its impotence and internal differences became publicly manifest on 16 June when Imre Nagy was buried, which was a national event for Hungary, and it became manifest again in the recent by-elections.

DER SPIEGEL: The opposition reproached the communists recently for intending to only set up Potemkin democratic facades, and for refusing to give up their real power positions in the police, in the Army, and in enterprises.

Koszeg: The situation is very complicated. Years ago, people always said that there would be an explosion in Hungary. However, not an explosion but an implosion took place, such as in an old television set—an implosion in the party. The party does not know how to repair it.

Demszky: It hopes for coalition partners from among the democratic forces to help it keep at least part of the power, because there are people in the party who are physically afraid of a possible loss of power. Last week, communist teachers who had invited me to read a paper said: "Gabor, these people are so much opposed to us

that it is quite possible that they will set party houses afire, as they did in the 1956 uprising. Would it not be better for all if we joined and formed a coalition?"

DER SPIEGEL: Does your League of Free Democrats reject cooperation with the MSZMP?

Demszky: Yes, without any compromise. We refuse to share responsibility with the communists for all that happened in the last 40 years. That is solely their business. Nor do we want to have to give any explanations to the people. That distinguishes us from the other opposition parties that have reserved the option of a coalition for themselves.

Koszeg: However, a certain opposition is already developing among them. In the Democratic Forum which in the beginning proposed a coalition with the MSZMP's reform wing, the grass roots is increasingly opposed to such an alliance.

DER SPIEGEL: Following 4 decades of bitter experiences, do the people distrust the communists?

Koszeg: Of course, we are all suspicious, because the MSZMP obviously continues to be opposed to really equal opportunities in elections. It wants to retain its instruments of power as well as the billion forint that it gets from the state, whereas the entire opposition will only get 50 million forint.

Demszky: A specific example: Our party rented an apartment from a pensioner as its headquarters—three rooms with a telephone connection which is so rare in Hungary. We asked the responsible authority for two additional connections. The authority did not even deem it necessary to answer. However, after 3 weeks it informed the landlord that it had come to the authority's attention that the pensioner did not live in his rooms any more. Thus he had lost his right to a telephone. The line would be cut before long, the authority said.

The responsible bureaucrat who of course knows perfectly well that our party has its offices in this apartment absolutely legally, quite obviously is a Stalinist who does not like all this. He wants to take away our only telephone connection. On the other hand, the MSZMP headquarters, the so-called White House on the Danube, has as many as 300 connections. That is an example of the allegedly "equal opportunities".

DER SPIEGEL: Much about developments in Hungary is contradictory. After more than 40 years, the first free elections were held; however, 50 percent of the electorate did not take part. Why do developments that appear to be breathtaking to the rest of the world, leave the people concerned so indifferent?

Demszky: For decades, the people were forced by the communists to go to so-called elections which were not elections, and they were even picked up at home to take

part. That is how the well-known 99 percent results came about. Like in America or in Germany, people can now vote for the first time, if they like—or they can also abstain.

In addition, what was the point here? The point was to vote for three deputies out of 300 in a parliament that is still dominated by the communists. The point was not a change of power or a shift of the majority. You may rest assured that the turnout in elections next year, when really important things come up, will be entirely different. When the final rehearsal fails, the first performance will be all the better.

Koszeg: The fact that so many citizens abstain from voting, is also the direct result of 40 years of communism in this country. The Kadar regime systematically cured the people of politics which was reserved to those wielding power. Those citizens who are at all interested in politics vote for the opposition now. However, the so-called silent majority that the communists like to cite is neither a majority, nor is it in favor of the communists; that at least has been proved by the elections.

DER SPIEGEL: That means nevertheless that the opposition must still do a lot to mobilize the masses.

Demszky: I can only repeat that this passivity is one of the consequences of the system. It works according to this principle: You leave governing to us, and in return, we allow you to live as you like and make money in the private shadow economy, as long as you do not make trouble. In this way, the people were systematically depoliticized, and most of them accepted that.

DER SPIEGEL: Is that also the reason the opposition has so many difficulties in finding well-known people?

Koszeg: Yes, of course. We do not have a Walesa, as the Poles have. The opposition lived in the shadow during the Kadar era. The people at best knew its representatives from the police reports. Political life is only beginning now. But even today, we hardly have a possibility to get into the mass media, among other things.

There are interesting political discussions in which opposition members also take part. However, they only take place late at night when most people are asleep. In contrast, those who govern appear on the TV screen at prime time. That is undoubtedly one of the communists' tactics.

DER SPIEGEL: Yet you believe in a victory of the opposition?

Koszeg: Yes, because we rely on those among the people who think politically, and who do not want the communist rule to continue. I believe in a coalition government in which the MSZMP at best shares responsibility. I also believe in a strong opposition which responsibly controls such a government.

Demszky: However, an indispensable prerequisite for this is that the MSZMP breaks with the Stalinists.

10 GDR Refugees in Budapest Return Home
LD1608214689 Budapest MTI in English
1653 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Bonn, August 16 (MTI)—So far ten of the GDR citizens seeking the possibility of emigrating through the Embassy of the FRG in Budapest, have decided to return home. This was disclosed to MTI's Bonn correspondent at a press briefing on Wednesday [16 August] by Herbert Schmulling, spokesman of the Bonn Cabinet. According to West German sources, the persons who returned belonged to the group of people whose emigration documents are being handled by Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, a government commissioner responsible for the humanitarian settling of refugee problems.

Hans Schumacher, spokesman of the Bonn Foreign Affairs Bureau, repeatedly requested understanding for not being able to enter into details about the intensive diplomatic efforts taking place with Hungary. Both spokesmen expressed their appreciation to activists of the Hungarian Red Cross and other charity organizations for providing assistance to the refugees from the German Democratic Republic.

Grosz Receives Visiting Canadian Businessmen
LD1708054789 Budapest MTI in English
1918 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 16 (MTI)—The visiting delegation of Canadian businessmen, headed by Andrew Sarlos, were met on Wednesday by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Members of the delegation include directors and representatives of the Nova Corporation of Alberta and Tengelman Business Corporations. At the meeting, opinions were exchanged on possibilities of promoting Hungarian-Canadian economic ties. The opinion was shared that progress should be made in the chemical industry cooperation, in the founding of a Hungarian investment fund and the development of other major business ventures. The discussion was also attended by Derek Fraser, Canadian ambassador to Hungary.

In honour of the visiting delegation, Mr Fraser hosted a gala dinner on Wednesday evening. The event was attended by Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP, Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Presidium, minister of state, and other leaders of Hungarian political and social life.

Experts Recommend Forint Convertibility
LD1608211589 Budapest MTI in English
1243 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 16, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The team of experts the Hungarian Government commissioned earlier this year to find out what chances there

were for the forint to become convertible in the short run, has recommended the government go ahead with preparations, said Mr Gyory Szepesi, chief advisor to the Council of Ministers.

The group made a special study of the examples of Austria and Finland, and decided to suggest to the Hungarian Government that it should create conditions for convertibility of the forint by 1995. They say the government's three-year economic programme, to come before parliament this autumn, should contain moves towards making the forint convertible.

The team of experts believe it is indispensable to have a convertible forint if the Hungarian economy wants to integrate quickly into the EC.

On the other hand, since the introduction of travel facilitations last year, a dual-currency system has begun to emerge contrary to government intentions. Since the government does not want to restrict foreign travel for Hungarian citizens, it will rather go ahead with liberalization, with forint convertibility remaining the ultimate aim. Thirdly, without a convertible forint, Hungary cannot have a real market, one where domestic and import competition will give producers clear guidance.

The specialist advisors say the buds of convertibility have already emerged in the ongoing reform process. For example, foreign investors are free to repatriate, in hard currency, profits made on ventures here. With the progress of import liberalization, the forint is becoming increasingly convertible for Hungarian companies as well.

If parliament approves the basic principles of the forint convertibility scheme, a start can be made on working out the technical details within a short time. No agreement has yet been reached on a deadline for introduction, though, as some of the team propose the early 1990s, and others 1995.

New Communist Youth League Formed, 100 Join
LD1508194789 Budapest MTI in English
1833 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 15 (MTI)—A new Communist Youth League has been formed. It was revealed by the leaders of the new organization at a press conference held in Budaors, on Tuesday.

Representatives of the League said that the organization has over 100 members throughout the country, and their primary goal is to create a socialistic society and ultimately to bring about a communist social order. In order to achieve this, they intend to be involved in day-to-day politics, promoting the decisions that benefit the majority of the population. Although the League does not wish to become a party, its leaders are contemplating nominating their own candidate for the forthcoming national elections.

Sejm Meets; Parties Discuss Coalition, Leaders

Sejm Morning Session Ends

*LD1608130789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1200 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] The first part of the Sejm session has ended. The deputies approved the inclusion on the agenda of an item concerning adopting a statement on the 21st anniversary of the intervention by Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia. Before the adjournment the main subject of the debate was a bill amending the budget act for 1989, which was presented by Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski. The principles of monetary and credits policy were presented by Zdzislaw Pakula, chairman of the Polish National Bank. Representatives of individual parliamentary floor groups took the floor in the debate. The proceedings are to resume at 1500 [1300 GMT]

ZSL, SD Approve Walesa Proposal

*LD1608131689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1200 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] Immediately before the Sejm's plenary session the parliamentary floor groups of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD] held meetings.

After examining the position of the ZSL Supreme Committee Secretariat and Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak's statement the ZSL parliamentary floor group passed a resolution which supports Lech Walesa's initiative aimed at forming a Solidarity-ZSL-SD coalition. The ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium was asked to take immediate steps toward a speedy realization of the decision.

In its resolution the SD parliamentary floor group stated that realization of Lech Walesa's proposal is in the interests of Polish society and the state. Deputy Jan Janowski said the position of the SD parliamentary group is that their party together with the ZSL and Solidarity should jointly ask the president to nominate a candidate for premier from among these three forces.

PAP Interviews Janowski

*LD1608140989 Warsaw PAP in English
1300 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—The Democratic Party's parliamentary floor group adopted today a resolution which, referring to the DP CC Secretariat's resolution, said that the implementing of Lech Walesa's proposal made this August 7 would meet the interests of society and the Polish state.

The accepting of this proposal, the resolution reads, also creates premises for a successful materialization of the DP program adopted by its 14th congress and political, social and economic reforms contained in the DP electoral declaration. The caucus expects the DP CC Presidium to assume a similar stance on the matter.

The meeting was attended by DP CC Chairman Jerzy Jozwiak.

Head of the caucus, Deputy Jan Janowski, who chaired the meeting, said in a talk with PAP: "Our deputies were briefed on the introductory talks between representatives of the DP and Solidarity leaderships and on the political line adopted by DP that has been altered concerning the earlier support for Czeslaw Kiszczak. We have assumed a stance that DP together with UPP and Solidarity should jointly ask the president to choose a candidate for premier from one of these three forces."

Caucuses Discuss Joint Action

*LD1608145589 Warsaw PAP in English
1417 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—The parliamentary floor groups of the PAX Association, the UCHS Christian Social Union and PZKS Polish Social Catholic Union held a joint meeting in the Sejm today.

The sides adopted principles of agreement and cooperation between the floor groups in parliamentary activities.

Rakowski, Kiszczak Meet Group

*LD1608162889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1530 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] During a break in the Sejm debates a meeting was held by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Parliamentary Floor group, attended by Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Czeslaw Kiszczak. The meeting discussed the political situation in Poland after the statement made by Lech Walesa on 7 August and following the talks undertaken by the leaderships of the United Peasants' Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD) with representatives of the opposition. Against this background the meeting examined the possibility of forming a grand coalition government.

Czeslaw Kiszczak informed members of the Floor Group about the results of the talks he has held so far in connection with the forming of a government. He stressed that the statement he made on Monday [14 August] should be understood as an attempt to save the hitherto coalition of the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD. As he himself emphasized, he was pushing his own ambitions into the background [na plan dalszy] if it were possible to create a grand coalition government with Roman Malinowski as prime minister.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed that a facet of the present situation, which was changing from 1 hour to the next, was the attempt made by the opposition to radically speed up the processes envisaged by the roundtable agreements to take 4 years. The statement made by Lech Walesa undermined the arrangement of political forces in Poland. We have entered a period of open fighting for power; we are threatened by the breakdown of agreements entered into at the roundtable. The matter is

complicated by the complex situation within the Parliamentary Floor Groups of the ZSL and the SD. The situation is grave, emphasized the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, but this is not the time to throw up our hands.

ZSL Official on Coalition

*LD1608173489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1538 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Excerpts] There was a meeting in Warsaw today of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Supreme Committee Presidium and the chairmen of ZSL voivodship committees. During a break in the deliberations Bogdan Krolewski, member of the Presidium, and ZSL secretary came to our microphone.

[Begin recording] [Krolewski] We are holding a very responsible talk with the chairmen of the echelons. We are consulting together about the current sociopolitical and economic, mainly market, situation. In this respect we are expressing our disquiet, because there is a serious economic threat here and also a negative social (?situation) taking shape.

[Unidentified reporter] What is the situation as regards the creation of a ZSL - Democratic Party [SD] - Solidarity coalition?

[Krolewski] Of course, this proposal submitted by Lech Walesa on 7 August has gained a good deal of sympathy in the ranks of the ZSL [word indistinct]. Today, I can only give a partial answer, as the person also chairing the talk with representatives of Solidarity and the SD. Our discussions to date and exchanges of views are taking the direction, primarily, of saving the state, simply to express our concern over the matters about which I spoke a moment ago. I think, then, that Lech Walesa's proposal of forming, as we say here, a (?working) coalition government of national responsibility, has the support of the ZSL. It gives rise to a certain hope, a certain chance maybe not of solving all the issues but, above all, of creating the conditions of making progress on difficult issues.

[Reporter] Does the party leadership permit the thought that there might be a coalition of the ZSL, SD, and Solidarity in the creation of a government?

[Krolewski] Well, you'd have to ask the members of the party leadership that. I don't conceal, however, that I asked such a question. I see that there is here a great deal of emotion and upset.

[Reporter] I'd like to ask if you know the reaction of ZSL Chairman Roman Malinowski to the suggestion by Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak that he should start work on forming a government?

[Krolewski] Chairman Malinowski found out about this communication from the mass media too. So a new custom, so to speak, seems to be beginning to operate in our public life. Our view is that (?as regard) this post of chairman of the Council of Ministers every official in the state has the right to present a stance. A sort of what we call assumption by Comrade Kiszczak...[Krolewski changes thought] Well, we don't conceal that this treatment of affairs leaves the chairman of our party, our leader, in a rather difficult position. However, I believe that in this new quality of our public life, one has to get used to this new quality of ways of acting, to put it simply. [end recording]

Walesa on Premier Candidacy

*LD1608223389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2200 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] Lech Walesa made a statement at a meeting of the Solidarity Parliamentary Club OKP with representatives of UPP [United Peasants Party] and DP [Democratic Party] clubs after today's Sejm debate.

"I never thought that Lech Walesa would be prime minister. And I do not think so now. But I want to help the reform-minded wings of UPP and DP, as well as the OKP Club, to get into the government and face the challenges of the present time," Walesa said. He asked those gathered to set up a coalition.

Further Walesa Comments

*LD1708003189 Warsaw PAP in English
2351 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16/17—Shortly after the Sejm had closed its Wednesday's debate the Citizens Parliamentary Club, OKP, (Solidarity deputy floor) held a meeting jointly with representatives of UPP [United Peasant Party] and DP [Democratic Party] caucuses. The meeting focused on the proposal made by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa to form a government of national responsibility. Walesa met with participants of the meeting.

The OKP adopted a declaration on the question of forming a government according to a new political principle.

The discussion presented arguments in favour of establishing a parliamentary coalition by the UPP, DP, and OKP but it also included various objections in this connection.

Lech Walesa made a statement during the meeting. "Things cannot be like this any longer," he said, among other things, "and this guided me when I made my proposal. Everybody here kept repeating that the situation is so bad in this country, that the monopoly (of power) does not allow pluralism, democracy, freedom. We have to finish with that monopoly. This is why I appealed for a new coalition that would oppose the

monopoly. This is not a coalition against anybody, also not against the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], but against the PUWP monopoly."

"I have never thought that Lech Walesa would be prime minister and I do not think so now. But I want to help the reform-minded wings, especially those within the UPP, the DP, this OKP Club, and outside it to get into the government and face the challenges of the present time which are today found in queues, in the streets, in housing problems, other difficulties, etc.

"Lech Walesa wants to take part, he wants to help you. I therefore ask you and appeal to you in the name of responsibility for this country, in the name of difficulties and worries—do create a coalition. I can see many prime ministers here, in this room and outside it. But prime minister alone will not solve the problems unless we together handle our things wisely jointly with our elder brothers in power, and the UPP and the DP.

"Indeed, the choice today is a difficult stunt, but we have to try it because there is no other way," Walesa said.

OKP deputies and senators adopted a statement which reads that the process of forming a new cabinet protracts in a disturbing way and, at the same time, the economic and social situation aggravates dramatically. The OKP, reads the resolution, represents the opinion that only a government set up according to a new political principle will be able to implement the programme for economic and systemic changes mapped out by the round table.

This must be a government breaking away with nomenklatura-style monopoly of power. We believe, the statement stresses, that parliamentary coalition of the UPP, DP, and OKP is capable of forming a government under the leadership of Lech Walesa, a government of national responsibility in which all political forces in our country, determined to work for the cause of political and economic reforms, would be represented.

OKP leader Professor Bronislaw Geremek told PAP that at the present moment the question of appointment to the post of the prime minister was not decided.

Negotiations over forming a new government are in the hands of Lech Walesa. It was unequivocally stated that the government living up to the present situation can only be a government formed by Solidarity and supported by Poland's all reform-minded political forces, a preliminary agreement with the United Peasants and Democratic Parties opens up the road to forming a government in this way.

ZSL Welcomes Walesa Statement

LD1608223789 Warsaw PAP in English
2135 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the United Peasants' Party got acquainted here today with the course of talks between the leadership of the party and Solidarity concerning Lech Walesa's statement of August 7 and further statements.

The Presidium welcomed the idea of Lech Walesa's statement which constitutes a qualitative change in his hitherto stance, creates a practical possibility of a government of reform-orientated coalition of national responsibility. This will be concordant with the round table accords which should be respected by all its participants, the Presidium said.

As for the economic situation, the presidium expressed concern over many administration bodies hindering or delaying the process of marketization and called on the party's authorities to counteract monopolist practices which serve neither producers nor consumers.

MP's Want Walesa as Premier

AU1608190089 Paris AFP in English
1849 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Maryan Kafarski report]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug 16 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa won further support for his offer to become Poland's prime minister Wednesday, but the Communist Party warned it would not give up power easily.

MP's of two smaller parties, the Peasants and Democrats, both said Wednesday after meetings here that they supported Mr. Walesa's candidacy and urged party leaders to join a coalition with Solidarity.

Later in the day, Solidarity parliamentarians meeting in Warsaw were deliberating a resolution proposing Mr. Walesa as premier.

Their colleagues from the two smaller parties were invited to attend as observers.

"We believe that the parliamentary coalition ... is in a position to form a government of national responsibility led by Lech Walesa," the Solidarity parliamentarians said in a draft resolution, the text of which was obtained by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Such a coalition government "could unite all political forces resolved to work in favour of political and economic reforms in Poland," the draft resolution said.

The Solidarity MP's and those of the two smaller parties hold 264 of the 460 seats in the lower house of the Polish parliament. Solidarity is in the majority in the upper house.

Some 200,000 miners and other workers held a lightning one-hour strike Wednesday in the southern coal basin of Jastrzebie and at Szczecin in the north demanding a Solidarity-led government, union sources said.

The Communist Party meanwhile warned that it would not give up easily the power it has held for more than 40 years.

"The concept of a new coalition put forward by Lech Walesa has upset the balance of political forces in Poland," said Communist Party chief Mieczyslaw Rakowski in a statement issued by the official Polish news agency PAP. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski, Cardinal Glemp Meet

LD1608200889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1735 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen, I have just received a piece of last-minute information in the studio.

A meeting took place today [16 August] between President Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp. The subject of their talk was the current situation in Poland. The President and the Primate expressed their wish that the desire for national agreement should be present in all undertakings aiming at the successful solution of the political and socioeconomic problems of Poland.

This was a statement from the meeting between President Wojciech Jaruzelski with the Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

DP Presidium on 'Escalation'

LD1608213289 Warsaw PAP in English
2051 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party which met here today expressed grave concern over the occurrence and intensification of phenomena threatening with escalation of conflicts and negative social moods.

These phenomena, the presidium said, stem from wrong decisions concerning marketization, indexation, as well as from wrong decisions with regard to particular persons. The present tension mainly results from the obstinacy of conservative forces in various groups of the apparatus of government which first of all block the restructuring of the economy, it was stressed at the meeting.

The presidium supported Lech Walesa's proposal of August 7 to form a government with the participation of representatives of Solidarity, the Democratic Party and the United Peasants' Party.

In connection with the distortion in the main TV news bulletin on August 15 of the communique from the meeting of the Secretariat of the Democratic Party's Central Committee, the presidium firmly protested against practices of this kind, and especially against imputing motives to the Democratic Party that it is not guided by, against imputing a stand it does not express and against introducing formulations which the text, requested to be relayed, did not contain.

The presidium turned to the Democratic Party's parliamentary floor group to interpellate on the Sejm forum with a view to public exposure of the person responsible for the said affair.

Geremek: Leadership Post Undecided

LD1608235789 Warsaw PAP in English
2309 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—Professor Bronislaw Geremek told PAP that at the present moment the question of appointment to the post of the premier was not decided.

Negotiations on forming a new government are in the hands of Lech Walesa. It was unequivocally stated that the government living up to the present situation can only be a government formed by Solidarity and supported by Poland's all reformatory political forces. A preliminary agreement with the United Peasant and Democratic Parties opens up the road to forming a government in this way.

Solidarity Member on Coalition

LD1708100789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1945 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] The meeting of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP) which has been debating since 1800 [1600 GMT], brought some totally new news. The draft statement speaks of the candidacy of Lech Walesa as prime minister, and he has expressed agreement to that. United Peasant Party (ZSL) and Democratic Party (SD) members are present in the chamber in addition to Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the negotiator representing the Solidarity leader in the talks with the parties. He answered many questions from the Solidarity deputies and senators, such as why Lech Walesa had not met them personally and whether he would resign from the post of trade union leader were he to become prime minister. In the late evening, Jaroslaw Kaczynski also replied to questions from Echoes of the Day [evening current affairs program]

[Begin recording] [Echoes of the Day moderator] Is the creation of a coalition government as you proposed here with the SD and ZSL not breaking the roundtable agreement?

[Kaczynski] I think that not only does it not break the roundtable agreement, but quite the opposite, it serves as a very far reaching (?application); it is proof of the fact that already a new democratic, albeit limited, political mechanism has arisen, not only a new much more ornamental one, merely a facade of the system. A new government based on a parliamentary majority, formed in this way, is, I repeat, proof that we really are dealing with the an initial, but already clear (?phase) in the development of a democratic system in Poland. [end recording]

OKP Declaration Endorses Coalition

LD1608205889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Report by Stanislaw Stec]

[Text] There will be a declaration by the OKP [Parliamentary Floor Group] on the issue of the election of a new government. It will be examined in a moment. I have received a draft of that declaration, and I will read it to you:

The process of forming a new government is dragging out in a worrying way. At the same time, the economic and social situation is worsening dramatically. The OKP has still taken the stance that only a government formed according to the new political principles will be capable of implementing the program of economic and system changes decided at the roundtable, (?breaking away from) the nomenklatura monopoly of ruling.

We think that the Parliamentary Coalition of the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and the OKP is capable of forming a Government of National Responsibility, under the leadership of Lech Walesa, in which all political forces in our country could be represented (?and which) could act decisively towards political and economic reforms.

That was the text of the draft declaration by the OKP. It still has to be voted on. Later the deputies will listen to a report by Jaroslaw Kaczynski on the talks on creating a government.

Michnik Criticizes Malinowski's Candidacy

LD1608145789 Warsaw PAP in English
1409 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—In a commentary on the latest decision of Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, the editor-in-chief of the "GAZETA WYBORCZA", Adam Michnik stated on August 15:

"His idea to entrust this mission (of forming a government) to Mr. Roman Malinowski does not seem to be a fortunate one. Why, the criticism and protests did not concern the person but the principle. Why should the former Sejm speaker, the leader of the United Peasant Party, a party co-responsible for the policy of the previous government, be a more appropriate candidate than Gen. Kiszczak, the co-founder of the round table? [words indistinct] brings to mind the old and discredited principle of the merry-go-round of posts. Solutions must be sought elsewhere.

"The situation in Poland calls for principle changes. A mature boldness which would restore hope is necessary. That is why I think that President Jaruzelski should entrust Lech Walesa with the mission of forming the government."

Michnik also took a stance on the recent events at the cemetery of Soviet soldiers in Sopot, writing in part:

"Solidarity is not a movement being in the grips of anti-Soviet phobia. We have always considered the desecration of the graves of Soviet soldiers as an act of provocators or fools. But we treat the disgusting, pro-Soviet servility of certain publications and speeches in the same way: as a provocation or stupidity.

"It seems that the recent reactions of some Soviet papers point to poor knowledge of Polish reality. The Polish public opinion follows with friendliness and attention the process of democratic transformations in the USSR. It would be a bad thing, if hasty reactions, based on superficial and partial information, were to create a conviction in Poland that Brezhnev's doctrine is taking a new lease of life in Moscow."

PZPR's Wiatr on Role If Part of Opposition

LD1608133689 Warsaw PAP in English
1250 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—In an interview granted to the "ZYCIE WARSZAWY" daily today PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC Secretary Slawomir Wiatr answered, among other things, to the question what is going to happen if within the parliamentary set-up the PUWP is in the opposition.

"Opinions on the issue are very diversified," he said, "from such which consider becoming the opposition as conducive to the PUWP integration to voices that we cannot give up power. But we should not handle the problem only from the point of view of the party's interests as it is historically and politically responsible for the state and development of the social life.

"The most rational and responsible approach today is the one which favours formation of a government of a grand coalition, of national reconciliation. Only such a government will have necessary executive instruments, political authority, social reliability, will be able to act efficiently. Not every coalition configuration can have such attributes.

"The PUWP has some kind of abilities to exercise power, lacking in other political groupings. Therefore, it continues to take responsibility for the condition of the state, and it should be so. The party's interests itself might demand a move to the opposition in tune with the principle: Let others show what they can (do), and in the meantime we will set our matters in order, will gain strength.

"However, taking into account this co-responsibility for the course of public affairs, the PUWP has to be ready to participate in a government of a grand coalition. Moreover, it has to do everything possible to convince other political forces that it is the only rational solution. New

political conditions that emerged after 'Solidarity' consultations with the democratic party and the United Peasant Party as well as after Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak's statement on Monday seem to provide necessary conditions for that."

Q: And if the talks failed to conclude in agreement again and a coalition government of the "Solidarity", the UPP and DP was formed, what would the PUWP do?

"We cannot rule out such a possibility but because of political rationality it should not come to that. The PUWP has made public a sufficient number of arguments warning against such a solution. Therefore, it will not take responsibility for its result. Every thinking man, the more so a politician, should realize that we are not a state of parliamentary democracy yet. Having a majority in the parliament is in itself not a sufficient condition to exercise power. It will take us some time still to arrive at a system in which political parties will be able to alternate as ruling parties without destructive results for the state and society. We should all remember that.

"We consistently come out in favour of realization of all round table settlements and accords. Unfortunately, not all political forces participating in the round table debates treat the decisions, worked out and adopted together, in an equally responsible manner, to the same degree engage in building an evolutionary model for transition from a monocentric system to a pluralistic one. Such a model which would not cause tension, would not complicate the state, social and economic life," Slawomir Wiatr stated.

Commentary on 'Interregnum' in Government
LD1608103889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0500 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Jerzy Kowalski commentary]

[Text] The king is dead; long live the king. That is how generally it has always been in history because life cannot tolerate a vacuum. Our Polish interregnum is dramatically dragging on. Executive power is being exercised by a government which in principle is not there, so the power too must be nonexistent, while the situation is by now almost spasmodically calling for order. The tone is often set by people who do not understand the requirements of the time and who have nothing in common with knowledge of strategy and development. We have had a blockade of roads leading to a large conurbation. Somebody has been announcing they would cut water supplies to the inhabitants of another city. Terrorist-like acts. Unbridled inflation is raging.

Although parliamentary life has flourished as never before, it is clearly evident that no legislative authority is going to cope by itself. At the same time, no one is really and truly asking what the people—the great silent majority—want. One could presume they want peace, some kind of certainty of the future, perhaps for the tempest to

be curbed. The longer the interregnum lasts the more there will be to do. Is it that our political elites fail to understand this simple link?

Finance Minister Presents Budget Amendments
LD1608140589 Warsaw PAP in English
1212 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—On the first point of today's Sejm agenda Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski delivered a report on draft amendments to the budget law for 1989 and to some other laws.

He presented the most important reasons for filing the draft with the Sejm. The proposed solutions are a compromise between the policy of radical reforms of the economic system and the economic policy shaped by the current socio-economic situation, he stated.

The budget spending was basically influenced by an increase in subsidies to food, the coal industry and passenger transport in particular, this being linked with pay pressure and with a prompt increase in contractual prices caused by pay rises, he continued.

Speaking about reasons for changes in the budget in the second half of this year, Wroblewski stressed that additional budget spending, expected over this time, also posed a problem. In this context he put forward a proposal to introduce a mandatory loan for the budget in the form of bonds.

He did not accept a charge on the inefficiency of the government economic policy and stated that the outgoing government had undertaken the activity in very difficult conditions, started many reformatory ventures and initiatives but these were processes which take time.

Sejm Rejects Draft Budget Act
LD1608202789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1530 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] So, the first day of the fifth sitting of the Sejm has ended. As I recap, the deputies' attention and your attention, ladies and gentlemen, was today focussed on the issue of changes in the Budget Act and the assumptions of money and credit policy for this year. The Sejm rejected the government draft budget, leaving 18 speakers who were scheduled to speak in the discussion and (?breaking off) the discussion. The Sejm decided that it should be presented with a revised draft of the new Budget Act.

Perhaps this will be a draft prepared by the new government, which does not yet exist. The deputies are demanding that the present government present a draft provisional budget, settling the most urgent issues, which were formulated both by the deputies and minister of

finance Andrzej Wroblewski. [words indistinct] perhaps by 1030 tomorrow, this draft provisional budget will appear, tabled by the government before the Sejm Presidium.

Ministers Council Views Rejection

*LD1608225189 Warsaw PAP in English
2300 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—The Council of Ministers today said that the fact that the Sejm sent the draft amendments to the Budget Law back to the government may threaten the functioning of budget-financed units such as hospitals, schools and other state institutions.

The Council of Ministers took account of postulates presented by the Sejm and accepted the draft law on certain conditions of the budget economy in August and September 1989 and on amending the Budget Law for 1989.

The latter draft aims above all at securing the functioning of budget-financed units and the payment of remuneration for their employees. The law will not involve an increased credit or the budget on the part of the National Bank of Poland.

Warsaw on Price Rises in Bydgoszcz, Kielce

*LD1608143689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1109 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, what are the prices today? Here is information from our correspondents in Bydgoszcz and Kielce. Following the recent increases in the procurement prices of milk the inhabitants of Bydgoszcz Voivodship today got to know the new prices of milk and dairy articles. And thus: A packet of butter costs at the moment Z1,130, choice fat milk Z260 per liter, 12 percent cream Z290 zl for a quarter of a liter. Cheese and curd cheese prices have also risen. As of today new prices are in operation for dairy products also in Kielce Voivodship. Choice milk costs Z157, 18 percent cream Z604, whilst cream butter Z730. It's interesting that due to the lack of orders from the retail trade the production of the dairy cooperation in [name indistinct] has fallen threefold.

As of today the price of rye flour has also risen in Kielce Voivodship, from Z157 to Z690. Bread is going up as of tomorrow, it is anticipated, by about 200 percent.

Katowice, Szczecin 1-Hour Protest Strikes

*LD1608142189 Warsaw PAP in English
1347 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] Katowice, Szczecin—"Solidarity" organizations of the Slasko-Dabrowski region today carried out one-hour strikes and protest actions in many plants of the Katowice Voivodship.

In a majority of mines this protest took place between 6 and 7 a.m. in the form of hoisting flags, organizing rallies, delaying work on the first shift. Some mines gave notice of protest action by sounding sirens.

A protest strike was carried out in the Szczecin region between noon and 1 p.m. numerous workplaces downed tools in that period and transportation came to a halt. Representatives of the inter-plant organizing committee of "Solidarity" of the western Pomerania region stated that this protest expressed disapproval for runaway inflation and at the same time support for the idea of a "Solidarity" government.

Further on Strikes

*LD1608185989 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] We begin our program of afternoon news with a report from our correspondent Zbigniew Skarlo.

[Skarlo] The Presidium of the Inter-Factory Organizational Committee (MKO) of NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity of the Western Pomeranian Region today announced a 1-hour protest strike over the whole region. Why such a decision?

[Milczanowski] This is a strike for, quite simply, a Solidarity government. We believe that one has to break this 40-odd-year-old monopoly of party governments, governments which have brought our country to the brink of the precipice.

[Skarlo] Andrzej Milczanowski, secretary of the MKO of NSZZ Solidarity of the Western Pomeranian Region.

[Milczanowski] That is the basis for chairman Lech Walesa's idea that Solidarity—together with the United Peasants' Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD)—should create a government, which would enjoy public confidence. For, in my opinion, in the present situation, only Solidarity can enjoy public confidence—and not complete confidence at that, and it is only Solidarity that people are still capable of trusting, and of accepting such a government as a guarantor that their self-denials, their efforts will not be wasted.

[Unidentified male voice] I am sure everyone will understand why we are striking—just by going into any shop.

[Second unidentified male voice] Forty years have done their work—and if the people who have been governing so far come back again—well, you know, sir, that doesn't lead to anything.

[Third unidentified male voice] [words indistinct overlapping with previous speaker] everything is expensive, it's impossible to cope, how can one go on like this?

[Skarlo] Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, one of the Solidarity leaders, has expressed the view that strikes only serve to demonstrate the weakness of the union, the weakness of Solidarity.

[Milczanowski] Certainly not this strike. However, as far as compensatory strikes are concerned, pay strikes, well—I would agree with him to a certain extent.

[Raciewicz] I think that none of the enterprises taking part in the strike today will demand payment for this 1-hour strike.

[Skarlo] Edward Raciewicz, chairman of the MKO.

[Raciewicz] We think that it is, quite simply, normal; we think this is a political strike.

[Announcer] Protest action has been taken by practically all the larger enterprises in the Szczecin Voivodship: the port, the shipyards, the Szczecin steelworks, the Skolwin paperworks, Famabut, the MPO [expansion unknown], the Odra and Dana enterprises, and many others. From 1200 to 1300 [1000 to 1100 GMT] there was also no urban transport or long-distance buses.

Katowice Mine Strikes Over Pay

LD1608155589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] One hour strikes and protest actions have been conducted in many work enterprises of Katowice Voivodship. In the Wlodzislaw 'Marcel' mine, 1,500 miners on the first shift did not go to work. A sit-in strike was announced. The miners are demanding pay increases of up to 300,000 zloties monthly for coal-face workers and 200,000 zloties for those working above the ground. The dispute is continuing.

Trade Union Minister on Strikes

LD1608121989 Warsaw PAP in English
1041 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—In an interview for a RZECZPOSPOLITA government paper reporter on the strike situation Minister for Trade Unions Jozef Oleksy said (excerpts): "Generally speaking the ceilings of pay rises proposed by unionists were often not substantiated, too high for the condition of the state budget and economic efficiency of some industries or enterprises."

In reply to the questions whether the government examines the possibility of assuming a more resolute attitude in relation to demands and strikes and whether it has pondered the necessity to finally say "stop", Oleksy stated: "Surely, in the country's current situation such a process cannot last any longer. The moment comes when this government or another must state clearly that to continue to force pay rises through strikes is senseless. Another thing is a possible reaction of trade unions to this."

"If demands and political slogans become the essential reason for the strikes and protest actions in enterprises, one may expect that the leaderships of political and union forces will not manage to play the roles of moderators and representatives of political processes in the long run, they will simply lose control over those processes.

"Both the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) and Solidarity want, as I understand, to maintain ties with their rank-and-file membership, which thinks that reforms take place too slowly or are too painful, and at the same time Solidarity wants to ever more fully exploit the returns of the elections, the cabinet crisis and some weakening of ties between the PUWP, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.

"Again the state and Poles face aggravated threats, which must be understood by all political and social forces that met at the round table and are responsible for the correct implementation of the accord signed there. The good of the country must be identically understood by various subjects of public life and only on this condition may it become the starting point for formulating concepts, specifying methods of activity and shape of agreement, and this, in turn, may be most efficiently settled in the frames of a grand coalition."

Asked what government would be able to change the unfavourable course of events, Oleksy stated: "In my opinion, we need such a government whose composition and the way it has been formed would be able to convince society that it is a genuinely new cabinet formed outside the traditional set-up. After all, the June elections and their results basically changed the situation in Poland, therefore people expect that this will also be reflected in a new Council of Ministers."

Press in Gdansk, Elblag Strike

LD1608150989 Warsaw PAP in English
1414 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 16—Today was another day without local dailies in the Gdansk and Elblag Voivodships—"GLOS WYBRZEZA" and "DZIENNIK BALTYCKI."

This situation is a result of the strike, lasting since Aug. 10, of the crew of the photopolygraphic enterprise who protest on behalf of employees of other press printing enterprises in Poland. The strikers demand pay rises.

Roadworkers Plan Road Blockades for 17 Aug

LD1608204289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] According to information from our reporter, roadworkers will blockade roads tomorrow [17 August] since the government side has not begun talks with the National Strike Committee of Highway Engineering.

The action will start with the 2-hour blockade of important communication routes. In every voivodship one place to be blockaded has been chosen. The only vehicles which will be allowed to pass are fire engines and ambulances. The roadworkers are demanding pay increases of 120,000 zlotys, higher investments in the building and maintenance of roads, and the setting up of a commission for changes in the administrative structures in highway engineering.

Leaders Attend Internal Affairs Ministry Conference
AU1608145589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 Aug 89 p 2

[Report by Zenon Kulej: "Protection for Reforms and Democratization—A Priority Task"]

[Text] The aktiv of the Ministry of Internal Affairs held a conference in Warsaw on 9 August. It was attended by: Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak, and Leszek Miller, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. The conference was chaired by Division General Wladyslaw Pozoga, vice minister of internal affairs and department head.

Discussion centered on the need to adapt the work methods and forms used by the Citizens' Militia [MO] and the Security Service [SB] to the requirements of a country that is undergoing reform. The need to safeguard conditions for actions that will introduce order into the economy and stimulate the development of democracy was discussed. It was stressed that the ministry is open to proposals concerning changes to the criminal code, and support was voiced for the flexible application of measures provided for by the law.

Serious concern was expressed about the way in which the situation in the country was developing. The emergence of a legal parliamentary opposition has given rise to new conditions. The mounting attacks on the ministry are troubling. They hamper the carrying out of basic tasks connected with ensuring that citizens enjoy safety and peace. Speakers pointed out that attempts were being made to set the ministry at odds with the Army and the party, and to undermine its internal cohesion. Colonel Marek Ochocki, head of the Voivodship Internal Affairs Office in Lodz, spoke on this subject. He said: "People are asking us—and we have to provide an answer—why, if we have conscientiously and diligently discharged the tasks that were set us, are we now being threatened with being held to account for our actions. It is not a question of being afraid to assume responsibility. MO and SB functionaries have a clear conscience and as for those who have overstepped their powers, we can hold them to account ourselves."

The same speaker took issue with opposition charges that the Ministry of Internal Affairs budget was too high.

He said: "We should respond to attacks on the allegedly inflated Ministry of Internal Affairs budget by providing a true picture of the state of our facilities. There are at least a few examples that should carry weight with even our most implacable foes. For example, the report prepared by the spokesman for civil rights provides a reliable picture of militia stations, and a journalist described some of them, rather graphically and exaggeratedly, as being no more than hovels that are comparable with medieval dungeons. However, what the report and the newspaper articles describing it fail to state is that this situation is not due to ill will, but to insufficient resources, because many MO facilities have to be demolished or completely renovated."

Other speakers gave rather worrying account of staff shortages (there are 5,000 vacancies in the MO itself) and the growing crime rate. Colonel Piotr Prochnowski, director of the Prevention Bureau at the MO Main Headquarters, said: "One consequence of this period of transition in our economy is that there are many phenomena conducive to crime, both ordinary crime and crime of an economic kind. Shortcomings in legal provisions that fail to keep pace with the changes that are taking place in the economy lead to deviations."

He went on to say: "The rapid expansion of companies that act as middlemen is a classic example. In the eyes of the law, these companies are acting in a way that runs counter to the interests of the national economy, as they eat away profit margins and artificially produce a further division of national income by driving up prices. Our experience shows that conditions have now ripened for the institution of radical changes to the system for the organization and functioning of treasury organs. It would seem that the losses currently incurred by the treasury are several times greater than the potential costs involved in establishing a vigorous organ that is equipped with suitable powers and modeled on the "fiscal police" that exists in other countries. Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak, who—as he said—has not been formally recalled from his current post, was taking part in the conference as minister of internal affairs for the last time. He thanked all those under his authority, from those in the lowest ranks to those holding the rank of general, for performing their difficult service.

Party tasks were the main theme of the speech made by Leszek Miller, PZPR Central Committee secretary. He talked about the views on models of the party that were currently being received by the PZPR Central Committee from rank-and-file members and primary party organizations. The 11th congress—the upcoming 14th Central Committee plenum will decide about when it is to be held—should be preceded by a debate within the entire party that should make it possible for all kinds of views and platforms to be presented, said the Central Committee secretary. He also stressed that the suggestions—not that many views of this kind were being expressed—that party structures should withdraw from the workplace were far too premature.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski also expressed his thoughts on party work. The Central Committee first secretary set out his ideas against the background of an analysis of the current political situation and predictions linked to it.

The Central Committee first secretary stressed the need for an extensive exchange of ideas within the party before the 11th congress. An unfettered and creative discussion does not, of course, mean the abandonment of party discipline in implementing the decisions that are adopted.

Political Analyst Compares Left, Right Factions
PM1708095489 Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish
21-23 Jul 89 p 5

[Interview with Dr Mieczyslaw Krajewski, political analyst and economist, by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date, place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] What, in practical terms, is the difference between Left and Right today?

[Krajewski] Divisions into right- and left-wing sociopolitical orientations will now be made anew, as it were. One of the differentiating factors will be the question of their attitude to ownership relations. The Right wants a wholesale restoration of private ownership. The Left tries to avoid arguments about the issue. It is high time to break this silence. The Left must make an unequivocal stand in favor of pluralist-orientated socialization of the economy and of doing away with the state sector in its post-Stalinist form.

The Right believes that immobility, inflexibility, inability to innovate, and inefficiency are inseparable attributes of all collective ownership, including group or team ownership. The Left must not only challenge this demagogic statement: It must also quickly create an economically efficient and socially useful pluralist public sector that would involve diverse forms of ownership. We should no longer regard as "belonging to nobody" enterprises owned by the treasury, local councils, or various associations and foundations, or a whole range of joint stock companies and firms set up with public capital or belonging to the public insurance bank, self-management structures, partnerships, and cooperatives.

[Scholl] But surely not everybody on the Left believes that that would constitute socialist economy...

[Krajewski] Socialist economy must first and foremost be efficient, and this means that it should not only offer decent living conditions to the working people and labor veterans but also create good prospects for the future. Therefore we should build a strong and efficient pluralist public sector. But it can only become strong and efficient if it sheds the straitjacket of bureaucratically controlled state monopoly. Society can only achieve nonsubordinate status when it can take advantage of a whole variety of forms of ownership.

[Scholl] Society can only consider itself nonsubordinate when democratic relations are established in the state. The Left and the Right seem to be converging on this issue.

[Krajewski] Yes, but the convergence is only illusory. The reform-orientated forces of Left and Right are only unanimous on one point: Citizens must be able to have more to say in their own country. They must be able to decide their country's formula and choose its legislative, decisionmaking authorities. Beyond that the differences begin.

The Right believes that the best form of democracy is democracy of private ownership. Its formula for a modern democracy assumes that private owners will form democratic self-government structures and the trade unions will be formally entitled to protect the working people's interests.

In my opinion, it is the Left's duty to point out the antipublic, antiworker nature of that concept. In order for the Left to do this, it must completely abolish the foundations of a Stalinist, "socialized" society. This is because the main reason why the Right has attracted sympathy for its apotheosis of private ownership as the basis of a citizens' society was that the prolonged Stalinist practice whereby the state held a widespread monopoly in all areas of public life had become the foundation of a system of bureaucratic totalitarianism. The roles had, in effect, become reversed: Instead of society controlling the state, the state began to exercise control over society.

That is why the task facing Left today is to consistently build a citizens' society on the foundations of a truly socialized ownership principle. Owners of socialized assets can operate equally well within their enterprises and outside them. But they must exist, both formally and in practice. That is why the Left is obliged to support any form of self-management and self-government. That is also why it is necessary to fully "enfranchise" local self-government structures and to define clearly the owner of each form of public ownership.

The Right is mistaken when it attempts to replace state sector dictatorship by an economic and political dictatorship of wealthy private owners. Every form of monopoly ownership, including private ownership, tends to generate totalitarian tendencies.

The working people will have no say whatever in our society if they are a society of hired laborers. Without a strong, pluralistic, and efficient social sector they will still languish in a system of dependence and inequality typical of bourgeois society.

[Scholl] Years ago, Poles speaking of Poland would call it "my homeland, my country." Today there are some who repeatedly refer to it as "this country"...

[Krajewski] This marks the third issue which differentiates Polish society today. The Right claims that only a state which could provide a private, "free" interplay of forces would deserve to be called "truly Polish."

[Scholl] And, according to the Right's program, it would have nothing to do with the Soviet Union but would have close links with Western capital.

[Krajewski] Such an attitude is the result of unfortunate past experiences: The process of Stalinization did indeed detach the state from its national foundations. Dependence on Western capital—that is, renewed dependence, because we already experienced it once before the war—appears to postwar generations as an altogether new concept. Such concepts, idolatrous in their pro-Western orientation, can only succeed in the public eye as indirect results of the Stalinist experience.

We did not lose our sovereignty—that is, the opportunity to solve our problems in line with the previous experience of the fundamental classes and strata of society: workers, qualified experts, small capitalists, peasants, artisans, and also the managerial cadres—when the Red Army liberated us. That was when we regained our sovereignty, whereas only two classes lost theirs: the bourgeoisie and the landowners.

As a nation, however, we lost our sovereignty in the process of Poland's Stalinization. The Stalinist state emerged as a development of the state sector and wielded dictatorial power on its behalf. The Left gradually realized that this was in fact far removed from the socialist ideals: A state in which "aktivocracy" rather than democracy was adopted as the practical principle. Let me develop this thought further: Eventually, the "aktivocracy" took precedence, with its predominance of nomenklatura nominees, who soon created around themselves a circle of "specialists" and token workers. A system of negative personnel selection was evolved.

[Scholl] But then we saw the growth of opposition to this system of dependencies, to the "owners of People's Poland." The opposition spread through the ranks of workers and specialists, and at the same time the public began to identify all the distortions of the system with the socialist state itself and with the socialist system as such. The people began to turn away from socialism. Why did the Left allow such a development to take place?

[Krajewski] Because successive reformers, from Gomulka onward, were inconsistent in their actions. By abandoning the system of forced collectivization, Gomulka gave the peasants the right to own their land again, but he failed to socialize state industry. We still had the state's economic dictatorship, with a state monopoly on ownership of all national assets. In addition, all subsequent reforms, both economic and political, represented only half-measures, and their implementation was consistently impeded. For example, both the

concept and the practice of workers' self-management were quickly abandoned and only a facade of an authentic self-management movement was left in their place.

All the same, a new Left began to emerge gradually within both the authorities' camp and that of the opposition. Its aim was to create a new, citizens' society of the working people, based on the following principles: pluralistic public and private sectors, with the latter model predominant; social and political democracy operating at both local and national levels; and a modern system of publicly-owned national capital, capable of protecting our national interest.

Today the Left is creating a new identity for itself. It is determined to bring about quicker and more radical changes. This is why its people have no excuse for hiding in corners and keeping silent. We must not allow criticism of the Stalinist system to be used as a weapon in arguments against socialism. People who have taken upon themselves the task of socializing our state must not be burdened with accusations of Stalinism.

Settling Scores With Stalinism

AU1608132789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
12-15 Aug 89 p 3

[Ryszard Wojna article: "The Bills of History"]

[Text] The message contained in Pawel Jasienica's latest book "Reflections on Civil War" is loud and clear. He warns against omnipotence by one person or group of persons who, obsessed with their own doctrine, think they have the right to introduce a new social order in the name of that doctrine, even if it means carrying out bloody massacres.

Jasienica uses as the point of departure of his book the peasants uprising in the Vendee against the broad background of the French Revolution, which we used to call "great" in school before the war, probably to distinguish it from all the 19th century revolutions. Writing about those events, he tells the reader again and again that the conclusions he draws from those historical events also apply to the modern era.

The book ends with the following resume:

"A knowledge of history sometimes provides conclusions that can be compared with natural discoveries. One of the results of the scientific work of Pasteur and Koch was that any surgeon who neglected to wash his hands and disinfect his instruments before an operation would answer before a prosecutor. Unfortunately, nothing protects the world at large against political activists who reject the idea of distribution of power and of permanent social control over those who exercise power. In the meantime, historical experience that goes back much further than Montesquieu permits one to say that concentrated supreme power, deprived of control, has the

same effect as an epidemic of tetanus. Perhaps it has even greater effect, for it has given birth this century to the concept of 'crimes against humanity'."

After reading this, I happened to pick up a daily paper in which I came across a report on a recent article in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI about Katyn. The Soviet author said in this article that there are many clues suggesting that the poor soil of Belorussia contains the graves of not only thousands of murdered Poles, but also an enormous number of Belorussians, Russians, and Ukrainians who were shot en masse in this region since the middle of the thirties.

If this is confirmed—and the nearby Kuropaty region, where lie tens of thousands, perhaps even hundreds of thousands, of Soviet citizens murdered by the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs [NKVD], reveals that an identical method of execution was used everywhere—our knowledge of Stalinist genocide will not only be burdened by new facts, but may also give rise to an automatic tendency to play down the atrocities committed against over 10,000 Polish officers, policemen, foresters, and others in Katyn and other places unknown to us. After all, if Stalin and Beria are already responsible for the shooting or starvation of millions of their fellow countrymen, what compared to this are the deaths of 14,000 or 15,000 Poles from the Kozhelsk, Ostashkov, and Starobyelsk camps, to say nothing of those who were deported from the eastern territories of the Second Republic and died of malnutrition in Siberia or Kazakhstan!?

No, we must not play down the facts. No lists of numbers of victims or comparisons between different nationalities of victims can weaken the significance of Katyn for Poles.

By the way, despite all the pressure from the Polish members of the Polish-Soviet Joint Historians Commission and from the general public to quickly end the investigations into this atrocity on Poles and publish documents about the truth, the work of this commission is taking too long. At the beginning of the year, I wrote in this paper that Polish society's impatience about this matter should be taken seriously. The worst possible thing would be if the commission pointed to loopholes in documentary material and said that it is impossible to establish beyond all doubt the perpetrators of the Katyn atrocity. That would mean that we Poles would proceed into the future with our own version of the truth, not a universal version thereof. That would not be good.

Another day has passed, and I read in TRYBUNA LUDU more reports on Soviet articles, this time about another enormous Stalinist atrocity. A special commission appointed by the Congress of People's Deputies has just finished the first stage of its research into the 1939 Soviet-German pact. For the first time, the Soviet Union has admitted the existence of secret protocols in that pact. As I. Kezbers, secretary of the Central Committee

of the Latvian Communist Party, said, the Soviet-German pact was a violation of the sovereignty of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, and was the prelude to the "annexation" of these countries by the Soviet Union.

These protocols also established the demarcation line between German and Soviet forces on Polish territory, and later they defined shifts in the division of this territory between the Reich and the USSR.

The Congress of People's Deputies Commission recognized that "the August 1939 pact did not reflect the will of Soviet society, therefore this society does not bear responsibility for the secret and criminal schemings of the Stalinist leadership. Stalinist domestic policy was a continuation and extension of imperial foreign policy trends."

Of course we are not blaming the Soviet peoples for this atrocity. The Soviet Union was an even greater victim of Stalinism than we were, and today the Soviet Union is freeing itself of Stalinism just like we are. It lies in our joint interests to cooperate with each other in this sphere. Nevertheless, one cannot avoid the question: So who is responsible for this atrocity? Is it Stalin, Beria, and their predecessors?

That would be too easy an explanation. Adopting it would be the same as manipulating facts. In the face of such a horrendous accusation, involving tens of millions of victims, one cannot hide anything or anyone from historical responsibility. In any case, it would be pointless to do so, because the truth is already known to millions of people.

Those who created this criminal system were and are the ones who are guilty. However, the following thought is appearing with increasing frequency in Soviet and Polish writing. Is the idea that became the emblem of this system without blemish? To put it bluntly, will socialism ever purify itself of the crimes committed in its name by the Soviet party and state leadership over dozens of years?

Both the CPSU and Polish United Workers Party claim that these were distortions of socialism. They were not the socialism we dream of. Today, we are writing, even I am writing, that a different concept of socialism is illuminating our reforms, and that we are altering socialism's substance.

By saying this, we admit that Stalinism, was, after all, itself a form of socialism! It was not a good form of socialism, but it was nevertheless a form thereof!

In the face of the discovery of ever greater and ever more gruesome atrocities, different from the Pol Pot atrocities only in terms of quantity but not quality, is it not time to dispense with the entire theoretical basis for socialism so far and say to ourselves and the world: No, that was not

socialism, that was not socialism at all? Is it not time to admit that socialist doctrine was only a tool and screen for what the Latvian Communist Party secretary called imperial objectives?

Why should one of mankind's noblest ideas be identified with atrocities?

I know what will happen. Counterarguments will immediately be launched, saying that a series of socialist objectives has already been achieved in the USSR by means of the restructuring of the Soviet economy and society.

No, the burden of the atrocities rests on everyone. Let us stop trying to salvage things from that era for the sake of the ideal that is so dear to millions of people. It must be a great ideal if after all that has happened, it still remains a pattern to be followed by the working masses of so many countries.

Socialism is still an unfulfilled dream for which we are only just creating the material preconditions. Seventy years after the October Revolution, the Soviet economy is finally reaching the conclusion that in fact it is necessary to rebuild these preconditions from scratch...

So in what terms should we present the history of Polish-Soviet relations if we delete its common denominator—socialism? We should present it in real political terms, in other words facts that are objective, not flavored by ideology. Only that way will we perpetrate freedom and cooperation between our peoples, which lies in the supreme common interest.

Pawel Jasienica writes: "History presents various accounts. Some of them are particularly large. Those are the ones that are due for settlement at a later date."

Unless we present Stalinism with its bill together, in other words a bill issued jointly by the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland, for no other socialist country fell victim to Stalinism to the extent that Poland did, the bill will become bigger and bigger, and its settlement will recede further and further in time.

Underground Group Statement, Program Reported
LD1608230289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2200 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] A Romanian underground organization, in a statement sent to the West, has branded the current Romanian regime, and released its program for the post-Ceausescu period. The 26-page document of the group called Romanian Democratic Action emphasizes that Romania cannot tear itself away from the community of European peoples. The country must undertake a neutrality based on Western democracy, and it must build its economy on private property. The organization, of which there has been news for the first time in 3 years, also considers it conceivable that the Romanian nation might decide, on the basis of free elections, in favor of a restoration of the kingdom. The document also says that the Polish, Hungarian, and Soviet changes must show the way for change of direction in Bucharest.

Ceausescu Visits Southern Counties, Farms
AU1608191289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1752 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/8/1989—On Wednesday, August 16, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, paid a working visit to the counties of Teleorman and Giurgiu, lying in the southern part of the country.

He saw round the fields of the producer cooperative farms of Purani (Teleorman) and Putineiu (Giurgiu), where an analysis was made of the course of crop harvesting and storage operations, the preparation of autumn sowings with a view to attaining the planned crops, as well as the measures taken to implement the priority programmes worked out in this basic branch of the national economy.

The RCP and Romanian state leader had words of appreciation for the activity of the cooperative farmers in the two units, where large wheat, barley, sunflower, and beans crops were harvested, with big maize and sugar beet yields in the offing.

President Nicolae Ceausescu also examined a number of questions related to the complex development of the Arges. Works have entered an advanced stage at kilometre 11 of the Danube-Bucharest navigable waterway and in the vicinity of the locality of Adunatii Copaceni, where numerous young brigade members work. A new road bridge crossing over the future canal which is 250 m long and has a 55-m span was built. In building it, construction workers and designers employed an original technique by reusing the old bridge and adding three end spans. The old bridge, which weighed more than 4,000 tons, was moved roughly 20 metres upstream, as an outcome of the expansion and deepening of the bed at

the end of the lake on the navigable water way. Completed in only six weeks' time, the new bridge will be open to road traffic to provide for a link between the country's capital, Bucharest, and the Danubian port-town of Giurgiu.

Jaruzelski's Cable of Thanks to Ceausescu
AU1608153489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
13 Aug 89 p 5

[Cable from Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski to Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I want to express cordial thanks to the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania and to you personally for the congratulations and wishes conveyed to me on my election as president of the Polish People's Republic.

I am convinced that the relations of lasting friendship and many-sided cooperation between our countries will continue to develop favorably to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of strengthening the forces of socialism, of progress and peace.

Please accept best greetings and wishes for success in your highly responsible work, and wishes for prosperity to the Romanian people.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic

Rakowski Cable to Ceausescu
AU1608144389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
13 Aug 89 p 5

[Cable from Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu: I want to express cordial thanks for the congratulations and wishes conveyed on my election to the position of first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

I want to assure you that our party's leadership and I personally will spare no efforts in ensuring that the relations of close friendship and cooperation between our parties and states intensify and develop to the benefit of our peoples and of the cause of socialism and peace.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee

Constantin Article on RCP's Leading Role
AU1608192089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1557 GMT 16 Aug 89

["The Romanian Communist Party—Leading Force of the Romanian Society"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/8/1989—Daily ROMANIA LIBERA prints in its today, August 16 issue an article by Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], chairman of the Central Party Collegium, devoted to the forthcoming event the anniversary of 45 years since the victory of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944.

Referring to the class battles in the fourth decade, that culminated with the big patriotic demonstration against war and fascism of May 1, 1939, the author writes inter alia: "The policy of yielding to and compromise with Nazi Germany's claims for world domination, promoted by the ruling circles of the big European states, the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, encouraged the Hitlerites' and revisionists' aggressive actions, opening the way to the beginning of the Second World War. In those difficult moments, the RCP resolutely stood in fight against Antonescu's dictatorship, the Nazi domination and the Hitlerite war. It built a wide system of political alliances around it, setting up the United Workers' Front and ensuring a national consensus that made the foundation of the carrying through of the August 1944 revolution."

The article also recalls the RCP role in the establishment of the worker-peasant revolutionary democratic government of March 1945, in the implementation of the land reform, of nationalization of the main means of production (1948) and in the agricultural cooperativization concluded in 1962. Those actions resulted in the generalization of the socialist relations of production at a national scale. The author stresses that it represented a highly important moment in the process of building and developing the new system in Romania, because the revolutionary practice demonstrated both in our country and in other countries the fundamental, decisive role of the entire people's and cooperative socialist property. Its continuous development and strengthening represents a vital necessity, any diminution of the great socialist property, the return to capitalist property forms, to the

small property included, endangering not only the building of socialism, but the very socioeconomic development of the peoples, their welfare and independence.

Emphasising the crucial significance of the Ninth RCP Congress (1965) in the development of the Romanian society, the author underscores the structural components of the revolutionary outlook asserted in Romania's socialist construction after that political event: the development and modernization of the economy on the basis of strengthening and expanding socialist property; the setting of an optimum ratio between accumulation and consumption; the improvement of the democratic framework for the entire people's participation in the management of the socioeconomic life; the continuous rise of the population's standard of living; Romania's active participation in the international division of labour. "The conservative thinking in all the domains was removed, the article shows, firmly liquidating anachronic theories and practices, the wrong concept of "a single pattern" in building socialism, the praise of foreign ideas and of certain forms of organization of the society in contradiction with national realities. The party and the people were given again the confidence in their own forces, in their ability of action."

After making a balance of the RCP policy in the last two and a half decades on the basis of statistical data, the author concludes: The management by the party of the building of the new society fundamental truth of scientific socialism proves its viability in the practice and experience of socialist construction in Romania. In the complex task of building the new system, the author stresses, the party must exercise its leading role in all the domains of socialist construction. To limitate this to certain spheres and domains of life would mean to deprive the thesis of the party's leading role of its political content, would open the gates for erroneous, completely wrong and dangerous interpretations which would ultimately lead to weakening the party, endangering the very building of socialism.

"Focussing on the activity to implement the programmes for the country's socioeconomic development, the RCP, Socialist Romania have carried on an active, realistic and constructive foreign policy. The fact is well known that, after the Ninth RCP Congress, there have been no important questions to the settlement of which Romania has not made an active contribution in the interest of detente, disarmament and peace, of achieving a new international economic order, of the collaboration among all nations".

U.S. Congressional Delegation Visits, Talks

Meets in Dubrovnik

AU1608112989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
12 Aug 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "U.S. Congress Delegation Arrived"]

[Text] A delegation of the Committee for Energy and Commerce of the U.S. House of Representatives, led by John Dingell, chairman of the Committee, has arrived in our country for a several-day visit.

The U.S. Congress delegation will hold official talks with a SFRY Assembly delegation in Dubrovnik on 14 August. The Yugoslav delegation will be led by Branislav Zigam, president of the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

As expected, the talks will focus on bilateral economic relations between the United States and Yugoslavia, opportunities for joint ventures in our country, energy, and some issues concerning environmental protection.

Visits Slovenia

AU1608141889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12-13 Aug 89 p 11

[TANJUG report: "Depths of the Crisis in September"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Aug—As part of their visit to our country, the U.S. Congressional delegation led by John D. Dingell, chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee, arrived for a 2-day visit in Slovenia. The delegation was received by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, and Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Republican Executive Council. They briefed the guests about some social and economic problems in Slovenia and the country as a whole, as well as about efforts to solve them.

Explaining the reform of the economic system, Stanovnik emphasized the federal government's orientation toward a market economy, the introduction of various forms of ownership, and the application of strict financial discipline. Answering the question raised by one member of the delegation as to when the first results of the current policies could be expected, Stanovnik said that the crucial time is September, stressing that Yugoslavia's awareness of the danger of disintegration will positively influence the process of unification in the country.

Speaking about Yugoslavia's preparations for Europe in 1992, Dusan Sinigoj mentioned liberalization in the country's foreign trade and the efforts of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to get the SFRY to join EFTA [European Free Trade Association] as soon as possible, which is to say, to move closer to the EC. Sinigoj said that this is especially important considering the fact that

more than 60 percent of Slovenia's economic links is with West Europe. Regarding trade, Sinigoj said that Slovene exports to the United States constitute 25 percent of Yugoslavia's total exports, while its imports are slightly below 25 percent. Both sides concluded that there are great opportunities for expanding Yugoslav-U.S. cooperation in view of the changes in legislation, above all the Law on Foreign Investments in the SFRY.

Daily Comments on U.S. Domestic 'Interference'

AU1608160389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12-13 Aug 89 p 9

[Vlado Teslic commentary in the "Week in the World" column: "Two Sides of the Same Coin"]

[Text] After the brief meeting in Venice between the most senior statesmen of Italy and Yugoslavia, President Cossiga and Foreign Affairs Minister de Michelis insisted that the economic and political reforms in Yugoslavia and in other countries are two sides of the same coin and that political difficulties can be overcome if the economy is allowed to function. In this context, they once again guaranteed their country's support for Yugoslavia in the economic and political area and explained that this does not constitute interference in Yugoslavia's domestic affairs. On the contrary, stressed Cossiga, the aim is to develop clearly defined relations with the countries of the Adriatic-Balkan-Danube region, with the rationale and effort necessary to include Albania.

In the plethora of diplomatically packaged actions and statements, which increasingly include unscrupulous interference in the domestic affairs of the countries of this region, and especially those of Yugoslavia, Venice is something new and encouraging.

The Americans

Our Italian neighbors are demonstrating this in the best way, which could not be said for some other international elements. How else can one explain the decision of the U.S. Congress—with the silent consent of the State Department—to adopt a pogrom-like anti-Yugoslav resolution, legally indefensible and worthless and based on lies and artificial constructions and which is motivated by political pressure on our country?

Are certain forces behind attempts to compromise Yugoslavia as much as possible, as well as its independence and nonalignment, and particularly its European role in these turbulent European re-analyses and restructuring, in which the Americans seem to have great ambitions?

Many people in Washington seem to want to exploit all of our economic and political difficulties without helping to resolve them and even ignoring all the positive achievements, cooperation, and friendship which have been created through two world wars and the difficult postwar period of the cold war.

It can hardly be believed that this involved a policy which had a temporary role and which was solely intended to parry the influence of the USSR on Yugoslavia and this region as a whole during the many years of struggle between the two superpowers to increase their spheres of interest.

In the changed circumstances which have been aided most by changes in the policy of the USSR and when Washington has been looking for its own place (and influence) in Eastern Europe, people have been bothered the most by Yugoslavia, which continues to be firmly oriented toward independence and nonalignment and, as such, continues to have an important role in maintaining equilibrium in the Balkans, central Europe, and even in a significant part of the Mediterranean.

Champions of the new policy of exerting pressure on Yugoslavia first demonstrated this by stirring up the crisis in Kosovo while ignoring the basic subtext of the crisis, which involves an attempt to destroy Yugoslavia from separatist and greater Albanian positions and which invalidates not only the internationally recognized legal order, but also the equilibrium and stability in this region.

Through the press and some anti-Yugoslav amendments in Congress, as well as the silence of those who are well-informed about Yugoslav circumstances and who occupy senior positions in the State Department, Yugoslavia has found itself in the circle of those countries which to a greater extent "persecute national minorities," at a time when our country sets a principled example to many countries outside this region.

When this idea could not be imposed on either the United States or the wider international public, an impudent fabrication was created called the "Paraga case," which belongs to the arsenal of the old ideological war against communism and which suffers from some characteristics of the deformations in the U.S. legal system. In the United States, this is unique show-politics, which has been demonstrated by another case: the rigged arrest and charges against our consul in Chicago.

It is illusory to discuss the accusations and demands in Congress' resolution from the point of view of the "Paraga case," in a situation in which human rights and political freedoms dominate Yugoslav political life to a very broad extent and in which the broad Yugoslav public has in practice rehabilitated all of the political elements of some importance in our past.

If congressmen do not know this, it is hard to believe that responsible individuals in the State Department do not have an insight into all of this. After all, their concerns are aimed at the upcoming nonaligned summit in Belgrade, and their interest is in the fact that Yugoslavia as the host should exert its influence so that the United

States is not even mentioned as a factor responsible for the many economic and political difficulties of the "Third World"—which is difficult to attain in practice.

Loncar on Necessity of Nonaligned Movement
LD1708050589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0000 GMT 17 Aug 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, August 17 (TANJUG)—Despite all the changes for the better, the world still needs the Movement of Non-alignment, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar said in an interview to the national news agency TANJUG.

Loncar said that the Non-aligned Movement was at a turning-point and that it would have to launch into essential reforms or risk being pushed on the sidelines.

The members of the Non-aligned Movement will hold their ninth summit at the beginning of September in the capital of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

Loncar emphasized that it was necessary for the movement not only to note the changes in the world, but anticipate them, to act flexibly and constructively, to engage in talks not confrontations with the East, the West as well as to the North and also to find constructive solutions, not only issue appeals.

The reforms should make the movement more indispensable and acceptable to the world, said the foreign minister of the host-country.

The basic goals of the Non-aligned Movement were the struggle for new economic relations, the development of economic cooperation in the world on equal footing, Loncar said, stressing that the debt crisis could not be viewed separately from the problem of development.

It should not be expected that the ninth summit will answer all questions, or that one summit can fully round up the process of reforms of the movement, but readiness for this has been expressed, Loncar said.

Yugoslavia has prepared the draft documents and has tried to make them short and rational. It is hoped that the documents will have a strong impact on the future activities of the movement.

After extensive consultations with over 80 member-countries, a revised version of the documents will be submitted to the ministerial meeting. That meeting is to verify them and recommend a declaration to the heads of states or governments, and to send the action documents to the political and the economic committees, Loncar explained.

Loncar said that the preparations for the summit were nearly finished and that conditions necessary for its smooth functioning have been secured.

He said that the Belgrade summit would be attended by a record number of heads of state or government. There will be the representatives of 101 non-aligned countries, ten permanent observers, 20 guests and the representatives of liberation movements and international organizations—a total of more than 160 delegations.

Iran's Lavasani Visits Prior to NAM Summit
LD1608151189 Tehran IRNA in English
1434 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 16, IRNA—Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister for International Affairs, Mohammad Hoseyin Lavasani began talks in Belgrade Wednesday with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar.

Lavasani arrived here at the head of a delegation to discuss the forthcoming ninth summit of the non-aligned countries, which will be held here at the beginning of September.

The deputy foreign minister will explain the Islamic Republic's views on the non-aligned and Iranian expectations from the summit.

Iran has expressed interest in the non-aligned and said it will be represented at a high level at the Belgrade gathering.

Lavasani and his delegation leave Yugoslavia for Cuba for further discussions on the summit.

Loncar Receives Lavasani
LD1608231589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1723 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, August 16 (TANJUG)—The course of talks on a settlement of the Iran-Iraq dispute and the Yugoslav-Iranian bilateral relations, which are developing very favourably, were discussed by Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and visiting Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Hoseyn Lavasani here on Wednesday [16 August].

During the meeting, Loncar informed Lavasani about preparations for the ninth nonaligned summit scheduled for September 4 through 7 in Belgrade.

BORBA Views National Human Rights Situation
AU1608142289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12-13 Aug 89 p 1

[Roksanda Nincic commentary: "We Write Resolutions, We Remember Violators"]

[Text] Last week's resolution by the Senate of the United States Congress on the violation of human rights in Yugoslavia was met in a large part of the Yugoslav public with sharp criticism, which ranged from the assessment that this document had destroyed bilateral relations and contributed to the destabilization of circumstances in Yugoslavia to the interpretation that the United States had shown that it does not respect the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. Vajgl, spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, stated that, "the tone of this monstrous paper and the demands that it contained, bore witness above all to the authors of this resolution."

One of the main causes of the outburst of dissatisfaction is the fact that the resolution is protecting Dobroslav Paraga, one of the more famous Yugoslav dissidents. The Yugoslav Government is being asked to withdraw "all the latest accusations against this activist for human rights and allow him and his family to return to their home in Croatia, whence they were expelled." Either (according to Vajgl) "a national chauvinist and warrior of anti-Yugoslav emigration" is being defended, or (according to Zagreb radio) "a proven nationalist who has been in Yugoslav prisons" is being defended.

As a 21-year student of theology and law, he was sentenced in May 1981 to 3 years in prison (after a decision by the Federal Court it was increased to 4 years) for criminal acts against the foundations of the socialist self-managing social structure and the security of the SFRY and participation in hostile activities and spreading hostile propaganda.

The United States Senate resolution asks the Yugoslav Government to guarantee basic rights and freedoms for its citizens, unconditionally pardon all political prisoners, and launch an investigation into the death of Earnest Brajder and publish its findings. Earnest Brajder was a friend of Dobroslav Paraga who, Paraga claims, died from the effects of torture in prison at the beginning of the eighties, while the militia's version says that he committed suicide by jumping out of a window of his apartment.

The Yugoslav "side" has the right to perceive and assess in a different way the actions of Paraga, Brajder, and others whose rights the United States Senate is worried about, on the basis of the facts at its disposal, but it also has the obligation to concern itself with its doctrine and, to a greater extent, its practice in this field, particularly since major changes are taking place in other countries, including those which were until recently anathematized for violating human rights.

Recently, at the June CSCE meeting on the human dimension, the United States highly assessed the progress made by the USSR in the area of human rights, particularly concerning the release of political prisoners and greater opportunities for emigration. In the spring, a delegation from Amnesty International (the well-known nongovernmental organization for human rights) stayed in Moscow to the satisfaction of both sides. (It also dealt with Paraga's case in its reports).

The USSR is also changing the provisions in its Criminal Law (on which ours is based to a considerable extent) on verbal offenses. In Paris, Hungary accepted the optional protocol which gives individuals the right to complain outside their own country, and the USSR, Poland, and even Bulgaria announced their willingness to accept it.

Yugoslavia was not criticized at this meeting, but nor was it complimented. Inside the country, our delegation was criticized for not being concerned with the rights of our minorities in neighboring countries—even though the meeting did not particularly deal with minorities.

Yugoslavia is a signatory to almost all the existing international documents on respecting human rights since the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations Organization. Moreover, Yugoslavia has for decades been proud of itself for proving that communist ideology and respect for man do not have to be in conflict, and compliments itself on its own humanist image. It did not even notice that its internal judiciary (which, it is now being openly said, is at variance with the international obligations that have been assumed) has allowed the perpetrators of nonviolent crimes to be proud of their chains, which has meant that the reputation that we achieved in the world after the break with Stalin has been gradually undermined and is being increasingly so.

The constitutions in most of the countries which adhere to democracy ban discrimination on the basis of sex, race, nationality, religion, and political affiliations. This all holds in our country, except for political affiliations. Other countries distinguish between violent and nonviolent crimes. We do not. Our laws guarantee freedom of thought, but do not specify whether this involves uniform thought or differing thought, or thought which a communal or central committee or some such body considers to be unacceptable. In other words, everyone is entitled to think, but the result of this thinking will depend on the circumstances.

All this and much besides is at variance with international acts on human rights. Miliivoje Maksic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, said in June in the SFRY Assembly that the protection of human rights is the legitimate concern of the international community. On the other hand, regarding the first resolution in the United States Congress, one could have read in the press—which demonstrated once again that it not only knows how to be a paper tiger but is also a well-trained

tiger—that in this respect we have nothing to explain to anyone, that "we are neither pastors nor preachers to return virtues to those who have stumbled and to educate the uneducated and confused," as well as a whole string of reactions with the message "chain up the Americans." The European parliament delegation, which—at our invitation—visited Kosovo in June after passing its resolution on our violation of human rights had no more success.

To recap: The sole aim of signing documents on human rights is not the feeling of self-satisfaction which follows afterwards. As Danilo Turk, professor at the Ljubljana Law Faculty and a member of the United Nations Commission for Human Rights, recently asserted in [the Zagreb bimonthly magazine] *START*: "One should either change internal regulations or refrain from assuming international obligations. We did not have to sign international agreements, but if we did sign them, then it is our obligation to respect them."

Of course, the essence of the problem is not only in the violation of international obligations, but primarily in the attitude of our variant of socialism to human rights. In other words, the essence lies in the necessity to be more worried about extending human rights, and not only about limiting them when the security of the country is threatened (which is not in dispute) or when ideological interests and the interests of authorities are threatened (which is in dispute).

DELO Reviews Bi-Yearly Political Situation

*AU1608172789 Ljubljana DELO
in Slovene 5 Aug 89 p 17*

[Danilo Slivnik article: "The Unpredictable Year of the Snake"]

[Text] Those of you who like to order your lives according to horoscopes are either upset because of the unpredictability of events of this year or are disappointed in the inaccuracy of horoscopes. According to the Chinese calendar, 1989 is the Year of the Snake; it should be relatively calm, in some respects outright ponderous, and especially without radical changes and far-reaching upheavals.... However, if you only glance back, now that a good half of the year is behind us, you can see that in the political sense the year certainly was not calm and ponderous, and in its second half something that the sign of the horoscope explicitly does not predict is quite likely to happen. Some major political turns may occur, in which we all together, as a nation, may draw the short straw or may at least considerably worsen our chances of reaching the "full sovereignty of the Slovene nation" that is mentioned so many times....

In this way we certainly do not intend to dissuade you from believing in horoscopes, but we do wish to draw your attention to the fact that under the present circumstances you should not rely exclusively on the stars, but also on your own political judgment at least to some

extent, and you should be prepared for everything: the chance that after years of great political uncertainty, proper party democracy may develop in our country and that you may finally take political matters literally into your own hands, as well as the other chance, that a period of intensified political dictatorship may come, under which you will have a unprosperous time and you will curse all of the signs of the horoscope in turn, from the personal one that has brought you such an unpleasant fate, to the "general" one that placed the country in which you live in this geographical region and these implacable times.

Those who were born under the sign of the snake will, of course, be best off, because the snakes are capable of anticipating others in their thoughts, and they are often capable of subordinating them, and this year is their year anyhow. However, caution will not harm anybody, as we have said, because there has been too much trouble in all of the spheres this year already, and a more precise analysis would probably also show that at a certain time we were very near to taking that hardest option which some people were loudly discussing in the streets, and nobody in a somewhat melancholy mood will have any difficulty in imagining its horrors. If you look back, you may see that a number of repressive acts occurred in the first half of the year that sobered up even the most incorrigible optimists: Emergency measures were introduced in Kosovo, the monstrous term "isolation" appeared in political life, a number of political arrests followed, the toll of the demonstrations in Kosovo towns was large, the constitutional changes in Serbia were adopted under more or less overt oppression, high tension arose between the Armed Forces and the civilian society, some social processes were intentionally highly politicized and directed to the field of interethnic conflicts, and the dogmatic and conservative forces sharply attacked the federal government and its reform policy.

The situation in Slovenia was somewhat calmer, but the events in other parts of the country showed that politics in our republic depends greatly on social and economic circumstances in Yugoslavia as a whole and that at this moment we have no proper answer even to our lesser national problems, which are fervently discussed by both the opposition and the official politicians, nor to the greater Yugoslav dilemmas, which sometimes appear to be quite close to "the final solution" and sometimes give the impression that their elimination will be possible only after another 100-year "cycle of the horoscope." However, when we look at the political situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia now that the summer political season is ending, we come to the conclusion that the majority of the political problems in Slovenia and Yugoslavia are most closely interconnected and that, for the time being, all the solutions are, as a rule, very much conditional. Democracy may come, or it may not, because under the conditions of wide social instability, the conservative and antireform forces in Slovenia are capable of annihilating our social renewal, and anyhow, a widespread flood of populism and neobolshivism in

the country may turn everything upside down, regardless of whether the relations in Yugoslavia are now actually set on a federal or confederative basis. Therefore it is now more than ever the time for a precise assessment of all political steps, both in the Slovene and the Yugoslav spheres, although on the other hand, there is no reason for any exaggerated pessimism or for yielding in advance, because after all—and this is the most important point—everything depends on ourselves indeed, and the chances are completely even for the reformers and the antireformers at this moment; the only question is how should we get organized? As reformers we must be prepared for everything, even for advocating an asymmetric federation on the principle of "two systems, one state," something that people in certain parts of Yugoslavia have been indignantly attacking for some time and presenting as "principled separatism of those in the northeast."

We could, of course, go on about the "negative waves," in accordance with the well-known assessments that the notorious memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts is the only (national) document at this moment that is being implemented in Yugoslavia, but this would nevertheless be rather one-sided, because in the fine-grained mosaic of a broad and comprehensive assessment of the situation in the country we would thus miss some of the latest moves that have occurred in federal politics, which is to say moves that may yet exert an influence on the wider relationship of forces among the republics and the advocates of various views on the way out of the present social crisis. We particularly have in mind the changes that occurred at the latest session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] on interethnic relations, because after a long period of dissimulation and an intentional yielding attitude, a major part of the LCY has openly resisted the occurrences of Serbian nationalism and thus more or less the so-called Serbian "national program," which contains, as is known, some quite specific projects for a political reshaping of Yugoslavia on the basis of national domination, monistic party organization, and a unitarian state system. This, of course, does not mean that all of the said dangers are now over, but what has now been removed is the "blockage of thought" which has long enabled the Serbian leadership, in considerable parts of Yugoslavia, to cover up its great-state interests with slogans about an "efficient federation," and in the economic field by presenting various interventions in the economic system, and especially in price relationships and the various systems of payments abroad (for instance the clearing system) as "market and reform economic policy." Therefore, it probably will not be exaggerated to say that precisely this session of the LCY Central Committee revealed more than any earlier session that different political concepts stand behind the differences within the party and the principled "market and reform orientation" of the LCY has numerous opponents in a completely shaped "intervention economy model" which is backed most openly by the Serbian party at this moment. The difficulty is that all of

these changes will only deepen the controversies in the LCY Central Committee in the future and that the fights between the several parts of the LCY will be even more fierce, because for many people, it will be a matter of literally everything or nothing, and the so-called media war will certainly escalate, too; even up until now it has served the southern side to directly discredit "unpleasant political personalities from the north."

Of course we do not think that because of all this you should immediately purchase as much food as you can from the federal stockpiles, which is being sold at just the right time at greatly reduced prices, and thus prepare yourself for the "difficult" option of the Year of the Snake, but we all must take into account that because of the aggravated social and economic conditions, the controversial theses of the Serbian leadership nevertheless enjoy some support in many communities, and because of them, the differences between the optimistic and pessimistic feelings among us are so small. If anything is to cause us particular concern at the end of the political summer season, it is certainly how slowly we are beginning to realize that the economic crisis and the extremely aggravated economic situation are destroying with terrific speed the opportunities for a reform reconstruction, and that we all, including Slovenia, are definitely approaching the end, when no correct changes will be possible any more and we will all be lingering at strike barricades, accusing each other of not acting in time. Of course the only answer to all of this is getting the republic organized in the best way possible and in conformity with Markovic's existing reform program to suit our economic circumstances, within which we somehow have always succeeded in preserving our not quite destroyed standard of living.

This is probably one of the reasons why Slovenia at this moment, despite all the economic difficulties, is relatively stable socially, and things are running rather calmly after the various turns in the relations between the opposition and the ruling politicians in the first half of the year. This, of course, only confirms the well-known truth that any pluralism that is to any extent orderly enhances the stability of society and does not shake it, whatever people in some other parts of Yugoslavia tried to say about the events in our republic when new political alliances were being founded. One of the greatest achievements of this year in Slovenia has been the founding of new political alliances, which have suddenly strongly mobilized the people and have contributed much to the first step away from "theoretical democracy," which lasted many years and in which you were able to do anything, as long as it was approved in advance, towards actual democracy, which should finally show that the Slovenes (as well as other Yugoslav peoples) are able to live according to the rules of developed Western countries and that we are able to ensure a corresponding economic and cultural future, regardless of the political whims of our neighbors and the unpredictability of various signs of the horoscope.

After the institutional introduction of pluralism in Slovenia, there have been many complications because serious problems arose immediately after the formation of the first new alliance, when it was not clear within which institution it should operate. In the same way, relations were aggravated when the public discussion of constitutional changes started and when it was shown that the opposition (both left and right) and the ruling politicians look at the position of Slovenia in Yugoslavia in rather different ways. It was precisely on the basis of these differences that two different political charters were framed shortly before the summer started; signatures for the two charters supposedly reflecting the internal Slovene political split are now being collected in our republic. This "freeze" of relations lasted a relatively short time, because both poles of Slovene politics quickly realized their real strength and after good cooperation in preparing the constitutional changes, in which the ruling politicians made greater concessions than it seemed that they would in the beginning, they again began to exchange rather soothing signals. In the last 2 weeks, a number of calls have been heard to the effect that Slovenia must display unity at least in some "strategic matters" that are linked with its position in Yugoslavia, and they have been signed by, among others, representatives of the two most important parts of the opposition, the Human Rights Protection Committee and the Slovene Democratic Alliance, which for a time were criticizing the official policy most sharply.

Despite all of the complications that occurred in the first half of the year, and despite the arrogant pressure that has been coming from other Yugoslav communities all the time, a rather encouraging political equilibrium appeared in Slovenia, and it provides anything but poor opportunities for our activities in the autumn, when the second part of the battle for a federally organized Yugoslavia will begin. For this one should also give some credit to the League of Communists of Slovenia, and especially its leadership, which while at certain times perhaps did not show the most ardent support for some political changes in our republic, on the other hand did not oppose them very strongly either. In the preparations for the constitutional changes it finally agreed to delete from the Constitution the provision about "the leading role of the League of Communists in self-managing society..." disputed for many years. All of these positive changes are ultimately necessary, for we are expecting not only a hot autumn in which, as we have said, much determination and cool nerves will be needed, but the Chinese horoscope will bring us the Year of the Horse next, and the horoscope predicts truly great events for that year.

Reaction on Upcoming Farmers' Rally in Belgrade

Croatian SAWP Opposes Rally

AU1608114589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
11 Aug 89 p 1

[H. Suljic report: "Croatian SAWP Against Rallies..."]

[Text] Regarding rallies, nothing has changed in Croatia, and therefore the farmers' rally scheduled to take place in Belgrade on 28 August is treated in the same way as the first rally in Novi Sad.

It is silly to waste energy and efforts which boil down to knocking on an open door. This was stated today by Slavko Bosanac, member of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia, answering the question by BORBA's journalist on what he thought about the meeting announced by farmers. I think that the stands of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of 21 May of this year concerning the activities in agriculture are joint stands, and that they should be finally carried out in real life. The federal government has accepted these conclusions and announced a number of specific measures. Once they are proposed, it is up to relevant institutions and the Socialist Alliance to discuss them. In fact, Bosanac stressed, the Federal Executive Council has started to "work" for agriculture. However, everything that has been happening concerning the announced meeting is in contradiction with the above-mentioned stands of the Socialist Alliance and activities of the federal government regarding improvements in agriculture's position.

"According to one opinion, everything was calculated to bring down the federal government." I would not want to comment on this now, Bosanac replied shortly.

Ilija Mircetic, president of the recently founded Committee for Villages and Agriculture under the auspices of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance, was more specific in his answer.

"We refused to participate in the first rally in Novi Sad because it was too politicized and because it was directed toward bringing down the government. I do not want to attend such meetings where there are hundreds of pictures of all sorts of leaders. We have firmly decided not to attend the meeting in Belgrade because all problems, including those in agriculture, should be solved through the system's institutions."

Bosnian SAWP 'No Official Stance'

AU1608152489 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] There is no official stance in Bosnia-Herzegovina on an organized attendance of farmers at the protest meeting planned for the end of this month in Belgrade. This was said by Miroslav Jancic, member of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Federation of Cooperatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina is not organizing anything either, because the Republican Socialist Alliance of the Working People has no official stance, therefore those people in this republic who want to and are interested in going will attend the meeting.

Daily Views FEC's 'Unsuccessful Medicine'

AU1608163389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
5 Aug 89 p 5

[Blagoje Komljenovic commentary: "On the Brink of Four-Figure Inflation"]

[Text] Every month we unfortunately set a record in reaching a new level of inflation. Retail prices increased

in July by 31.3 percent, which has raised the yearly rate of inflation to a fantastic 883 percent. Thus, the federal government's predictions for the whole of 1989 have been surpassed in only 7 months (the Federal Executive Council [FEC] promised that this year's rate of inflation would not be higher than 880 percent).

It was also the promise of the members of Ante Markovic's cabinet that prices would begin to increase more moderately as early as August. Perhaps. However, one thing is certain: It is enough for retail prices to increase by only 14 percent in August for us to surpass a yearly inflation rate of 1,000 percent.

This disappointing fact in no way encourages and instills confidence in the moves that the FEC is making. On the contrary, this new government is becoming increasingly like the previous one. It showers us with promises and theories about the market economy and structural and systemic inflation, as well as with claims that the effects of its efficient work can already be felt.

We say that the time of deceiving ourselves ended a long time ago. The people want results—concrete results! The illusory charm and irony of Ante Markovic is obviously not curing the most serious illness of our economy: Inflation. His managerial services and message "that anyone who has an anti-inflation program should send it to the Palace of the Federation" should not be offered to anyone else because this is in fact the priority task of the government that he leads. Four-figure inflation, which is only days away, has still not yet been overcome in the world—or in economic theory—by taking individual measures in the longer term.

Restricting the payment of personal incomes in several installments, scrapping the purchase of items using post-dated checks, sharpening the criteria for consumer credit, intervening on the short term with supplies of basic foodstuffs from the commodity reserves, and inflating foreign exchange reserves is neither curbing nor bringing down inflation. These are only pieces in the mosaic of the inflationary dragon that is increasingly destroying us.

One has the impression, at least according to the latest public statements by the head of our federal government, that his cabinet is obstinately and quite spitefully refusing the recommendations of even the most qualified people for solving our inflationary enigma. It is, above all, rejecting the adoption of a universal anti-inflation program, although we needed one of these not today, but yesterday. Therefore, "shock-therapy" is being considered as an already tested and unsuccessful medicine. However, it is not being said what kind of "therapy" is in question: Of what scope, for what time period, and to what extent was it consistently implemented?

"All sections of the federal government will also work in August, and if need be, all FEC members will meet together for a short time," announced the general secretary of the FEC on Wednesday.

Can the entire government of a country go on vacation at the same time? The collective vacation taken by a federal administration would at this time mean the paralysis of many economic and social currents. Under our conditions and circumstances this would be equal to an acceptance of the deepening crisis, for which we have not found the right cure, let alone begun to feel the effects of the therapy that has been applied. Therefore, it seems that the message "and if need be, all the members of the federal government will meet together for a short time" is not an advertisement for the federal government either.

After all, agricultural workers have warned that August will not be a month for rest and relaxation. They have announced a mass meeting to be held in Belgrade. They have already announced that they will ask the federal government either for concrete solutions to a way out of the crisis or for its resignation.

Leskovac Wool Workers Strike, Demand Raises
LD1608151289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Summary] Leskovac, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—Workers from the Leteks wool industry of Leskovac, which employs about 2,500 people, stopped work after

receiving their personal incomes. They are demanding a 50 percent increase for those with the lowest income and have formed a strike committee.

Novi Sad Agricultural Machine Workers Strike
LD1608234889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Summary] Novi Sad, 16 Aug [TANJUG]—Around 2,700 workers of the Pobeda agricultural machines and equipment from Petrovaradin near Novi Sad today stopped work. Dissatisfied with low personal incomes and high taxes for agricultural machines producers, they formed a strike committee which will hold talks with the leading people of the factory tomorrow. The strike, however, is expected to continue.

Nevesinje Protest Meeting Ends, Dismissals Occur
AU1608153389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12-13 Aug 89 p 11

[TANJUG report: "Delegates Under Magnifying Glass"]

[Excerpt] Nevesinje, 11 Aug—The protest meeting, which was started yesterday during the joint session of all chambers of the Nevesinje communal assembly, ended peacefully today. This was preceded by an announcement to the crowd of few hundred citizens that the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina has approved the dismissals of Drago Ivkovic, secretary of the communal secretariat for internal affairs of Nevesinje, who was dismissed at the communal assembly session yesterday, and Ibro Feriz, head of the militia station, who was dismissed by the Assembly's executive council this morning. [passage omitted]